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WARS OF THE XIX<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY.

1807 - 1809.



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ANNALS OF THE WARS  
OF THE  
NINETEENTH CENTURY.

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VOLUME II. 1807—1809.

**Entered at Stationers' Hall.**

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[*The Author reserves to himself the Right of Translation.*] 

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ANNALS OF THE WARS  
OF THE  
NINETEENTH CENTURY,

COMPILED

From the most Authentic Histories of  
the Period.

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BY THE  
HON. SIR EDWARD CUST, D.C.L.  
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL IN THE BRITISH ARMY, AND COLONEL OF  
THE SIXTEENTH (QUEEN'S) LANCERS.

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"By reading you will be distinguished : without it your abilities will  
be of little use."

GENERAL SIR CHARLES NAPIER'S *Advice to a Young Officer.*

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VOL. II. 1807—1809.

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LONDON:  
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1862. 223. g. 41.

~~223. g. 41.~~

"The vet'ran soldier, kindly bade to stay,  
Sat by his fire and talked the night away ;  
Wept o'er the wounds and tales of sorrow done,  
Shoulder'd his crutch and show'd how fields were won."

GOLDSMITH.



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THE WARS  
OF  
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

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1807.

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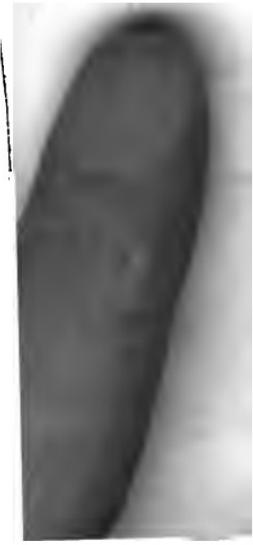
*Errata.*

Page 113, line 32, for Loison read Laborde.  
" " " 34, " Laborde " Loison.

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with the flag of the Rear-Admiral, Sir Sidney Smith ; and on the 10th of February these ships joined Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Louis's squadron off Tenedos, thus forming a force consisting of 8 sail of the line, 2 frigates, and 2 bomb vessels. The Russian Admiral, Seniavin, had been at the same time directed to send 4 of his line-of-battle ships to serve under Sir John Duckworth in the expedition, but they had not yet joined the fleet. On the 14th a melancholy accident befel the " Ajax " while on this station. At 9 at night, just after the captain had retired to rest, the ship took fire, and, in defiance of every attempt to stifle it by the officers and men, it burned the whole night, and blew up with an awful explosion at 5 in the evening of the 15th. It is feared that 250 souls perished on board.

Mr. Arbuthnot, the British Ambassador, found himself in so critical a situation at the Turkish capital after the departure of his Russian colleague, that, with the Seven Towers in his sight, he thought it best to quit his post, and seek greater safety by embarking secretly on board the " Endymion," on the 29th of January, with all his embassy and the principal British merchants at Constantinople. No opposition was offered to the departure of the British frigate, which passed under the very stern of the Capudan-Pacha's flag-ship, and carried Mr. Arbuthnot to Tenedos, where he joined the British fleet. From this island he proposed to the Ministers of the Porte to continue negotiations, and Feyzi-Effendi was commissioned with full powers to proceed with the Capudan-Pacha to treat with the British Ambassador. While, however, the civilians were thus engaged, the British Vice-Admiral, with his fleet, having weighed on the 19th, steered for the entrance of the Dardanelles ; but when the leading ship, the " Canopus," 80, bearing the flag of Sir T. Louis, arrived abreast of the outer castles, both of them opened fire. None of the British ships, however, returned a shot, until, reaching the inner castles, they opened fire at point blank with good effect. The fire was then continued by the ships of the fleet as they passed up in succession. A new missile war at this time employed against the shipping, viz. immense blocks of marble, 800 lbs. weight, which were fired from cavities hewn into the native rocks, and made such breaches in the ship's sides that, had they hit between wind and water, they must have sunk them. As it was, very little injury was effected, and the vessels passed on into the Sea of Marmora, and, singularly enough, in the midst of these hostilities, Mr. Arbuthnot, the British negotiator, and Italinski, the Russian, were on board the flag-ship of the British Admiral ; the Capudan-Pacha was in Sestos, the castle of Europe ; and Feyzi-Effendi was in Abydos, the castle of Asia. General Sebastiani, the French Ambassador, more advantageously for his interests, resided in the Turkish capital.

A little above the castle of Abydos the Turkish fleet, consisting of 1 64-gun ship with a Rear-Admiral's flag, 1 40-gun frigate with the flag of the Capudan-Pacha, and 3 other frigates, with 4 corvettes, became visible, and Duckworth sailed forward to attack

it. On observing the approach of the British, one of the corvettes was seen to cut her cables and make instant sail for Constantinople with the intelligence. The British van, consisting of "Canopus," "Repulse," "Royal George," and "Windsor Castle," stood on and anchored 3 miles forward, between the Castles and Point Pesquies or Nagara-Burun, on which stood a formidable battery of 30 guns, but too distant to do them injury. Rear-Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, with "Pompée," "Thunderer," "Standard," and frigates, dashed into the midst of the Turkish squadron, and at once opened fire upon them with such effect that, after half-an-hour's cannonading, the 64 ran on shore on the Asiatic side of the straits, and in about four hours the rest of the ships were driven off the coast and blown up, with the exception of one small corvette and a gun-boat, which it was thought proper to preserve. As the redoubt on Nagara still maintained its fire on the van, and a considerable body of Asiatic troops, both horse and foot, now appeared upon the hills, the Royal Marines and boats' crews were landed, who immediately assailed the battery, set fire to the gabions, and spiked the guns; while another portion advanced against and dispersed the troops, from whom Lieutenant Oates, of the Marines, captured their great green standard. The Admiral, having thus cleared the bay of every obstacle, weighed, and entering the Sea of Marmora with his whole fleet, anchored off the Prince's islands at 10 at night of the 20th.

At noon of the 20th Ysak Bey, a minister of the Porte, came off to the flag-ship to see the British Ambassador; but the consternation in the city had, during the day, arisen to such a height that the Capudan-Pacha and Feyzi-Effendi were both sacrificed; and a high officer was sent to General Sebastiani to apprise him that the capital was defenceless against such a force as had been brought against it, and that the Porte had no alternative but to concede all the demands addressed by the English Ambassador and Admiral. The French General received the officer in full state, surrounded by all his embassy, and, with great dignity and courage, returned for answer : "Je ne quitterai point Constantinople, et j'attends avec confiance une décision plus digne de Sultan Selim et de la nation Turque ; dites à votre puissant monarque qu'il ne voudra pas descendre du haut-rang où l'ont placé ses glorieux ancêtres en livrant à quelques vaisseaux Anglais une ville de 900,000 âmes, qui a des armes, des munitions, et des vivres qui peut les foudroyer." The Divan assembled at night in the Seraglio was electrified by this energetic reply, and, taking courage from despair, sent a new message to invite Sebastiani to their conference. The Ambassador offered his own services and those of all the officers of his nation to render the city defensible, if Selim would reject the propositions of England, and the Turkish monarch accepted them. In the early morning the whole city was already in motion, and every exertion made to render the immense resources of the capital available for its defence. The Sultan himself, on foot, encouraged the Mussulmans with his presence ; his ministers scattered money and rewards amongst them. Latour-Mauburg, Lablauche, and Pontecoulant, of the French

Embassy, exerted themselves with their hands and with their counsel; and even the Spanish Ambassador, Almenara, gave his countenance to the work.

The British Admiral had openly threatened violence against the city, and Mr. Arbuthnot, as a last act of vigour, had sent in a demand, which was to be replied to in half-an-hour; but, falling sick, he could attend to no more business, and left all to be carried out by Sir John Duckworth. Thus, this singular state of things had arisen — that to a French General and a British Admiral were committed the independence or fall of the Turkish Empire. Duckworth was no match with the Frenchman in diplomacy, for Sebastiani dictated a reply to the summons, cleverly prolonging the discussion, while he urged forward the preparations for defence. The officers on board the fleet could see with their glasses that the Turks were warping ships of war towards the city, and constructing batteries along the coast; and the Admiral accordingly put new terms to his pen, but waiting as he writes for "a commanding breeze," he still delayed to open his guns, which would have blown up all the French Ambassador's schemes, and sent him to the Seven Towers. On the 24th a proposal was made from the Turks that the Admiral should land at Kadekoi, in Asia, and proceed with the negotiation there. On the 27th it was discovered that the Turks were actually raising a battery on Proti, one of the Prince's islands, and the nearest to the anchorage of the British squadron; then the Marines of the squadron were landed under Captain Kent, and had some sharp fighting with the Turks, in which they lost 2 officers and 5 men killed, and 2 officers and 17 men wounded; but while they were astonished at the vigour of the opposition made to their attack, they were not at the moment aware that General Sebastiani himself was on the island, directing its defence, with the Chief Aga of the Janissaries at his side.

To the apathy of the modern Mussulman all the excitement of the Mahometan of former times had succeeded, so that, in four days, upwards of 400 pieces were taken from the well-supplied arsenals of Constantinople, and placed in battery. The Tower of Leander was armed with artillery of great calibre, and prepared for throwing hot shot. A hundred gun-boats defended the Golden Horn between Pera and the Seraglio. Ismail Pacha, a former vizier, was sent to the Dardanelles, to see to the condition of the castles, in case the British fleet should endeavour to retreat; many of the new forts had been completed, and many were in a forward state; and the whole line of the coast now presented a linked chain of batteries. Twelve Turkish line-of-battle ships, two of them 3-deckers, now appeared on the scene with their sails bent, and filled with troops. The astonished British Admiral, waiting for the "commanding wind" to bombard the town, all of a sudden awoke to the danger of his own situation and of the squadron under his command, and resolved to lose no more precious time in getting clear of the Dardanelles. On the 1st of March he weighed anchor with his whole fleet, but, with that rather hectoring spirit which somewhat foolishly influ-

ences brave commanders often when they had better be more discreet, he stood on and off during the day to afford the Turks an opportunity of attacking him. The wily diplomatist chuckled at this wanton defiance of the British tar, but made such use of the twelve additional hours thus afforded him, as should make the Admiral stagger in his retreat. It now appeared that the presence of the fleet in the Turkish waters had ceased to influence the submission of the Porte, and, since it was necessary to abandon the hope of making an amicable arrangement, it was deemed useless to make any further hostile demonstrations ; therefore the Admiral ordered all sail to be made, but that the ships should maintain the order of battle, and clear for action. The fleet reached Nagara towards the evening of the 2nd, and, deeming daylight preferable for passing the castles, anchored there for the night. On the 3rd, in the morning, the fleet weighed again, but, somewhat absurdly, thinking to propitiate the Turks, whom he had first bullied and was now flying from, Sir John Duckworth fired a salute of 13 guns. This produced an immediate return fire of a very different kind from all the castles and batteries, which, with one accord, poured marble, granite, iron, balls, and shell on the devoted squadron. The ships smartly returned the fire, and with a rapidity and precision that astonished and disconcerted the Turkish bombardiers. But the stone shot crushed the shipping : one struck the "Repulse," on which it caused a loss of 20 men to one shot, and also wounded the main-mast, broke the wheel, and did other serious damage. Another struck the "Canopus," carried away her wheel, and wounded 3 men. The "Royal George" had one of these missiles stuck fast in her cutwater. A stone shot weighing 800 lbs. struck the main-mast of the "Windsor Castle," and cut it nearly through ; another, measuring 6 feet 8 inches in circumference, entered the lower deck of the "Standard," and set on fire the salt boxes, causing an explosion that badly wounded more than 50 persons ; the "Active" received a granite shot through her side, which lodged close to the magazine, but did not injure a man ; the "Meteor" bomb-vessel, being cast off by her tow-ship, was exposed for a long time to the fire of the batteries, and everyone expected to see her blown into the air, because her magazines were situated above water ; but, although the stone shot flew about her in all directions, and often struck her hull, she got past the castles with the loss of 1 officer and 7 men wounded. The total loss sustained by the fleet in its passage through the Dardanelles was 46 killed and 235 wounded, and it was about noon when the British fleet anchored off Cape Janizary, out of the reach of further molestation ; here Sir John Duckworth was joined by Admiral Siniavin with 8 Russian sail of the line.

After the departure of the English fleet the influence of General Sebastiani with the Divan became unbounded ; and Napoleon was so delighted at his chivalrous conduct, by means of which he had escaped from a very serious political dilemma, that he despatched without delay orders to Marmont, in Illyria, to accede to any demands made upon him for assistance by Sebastiani, even to the

extent of 5000 men; and Prince Eugène was at the same time directed to send Colonels Haxo and Foy, with Engineers and Artillery, to render the Turkish capital secure from future insults from the British and Russians.

In the month of June this year the unfortunate Sultan fell a sacrifice to popular fury in his own capital, as will be after related, and was succeeded by Mustapha, who, however, adhered to the cause of Napoleon.

## 2. BRITISH EXPEDITION TO EGYPT.

The attack by the British on the capital of Turkey was immediately followed by an expedition against her distant possessions. Egypt was thought to be an easy acquisition from the feeble sceptre of the Porte, and, could the statesmen of that day have looked half a century a-head, it would have been well worth the conquest. At the time, it was considered more as a blow against Napoleon, who still warmly coveted it, than as an operation that would injure Turkey, or a gain that would compensate an expenditure of blood and treasure on the part of Great Britain. However, the Government had already collected troops for this purpose at Sicily, contemporaneously with the attack on the Turkish capital. On the 6th of March, the "Tigre," 74, Captain Benjamin Hallowell, accompanied by the "Apollo," 38, Captain Fellowes, and the "Wizard," 16, Captain Palmer, with 33 sail of transports, having 5000 troops on board, under Major-General Fraser, set sail from Messina, and on the 15th the "Tigre," keeping the rest of the expedition out of sight, reached the offing of Alexandria, and summoned the governor. This having been refused, Captain Hallowell waited till the 20th, when the whole of the armament anchored in Aboukir Bay; the troops, to the number of 1000 men, were, amidst many difficulties, got on shore, with five field pieces and a detachment of blue jackets, under Lieutenant Boxer, who moved forward the following day, and took possession of the castle. The Governor, as soon as he perceived the accession of strength, accepted terms of capitulation, and on the 21st, the anniversary of the battle of Alexandria, the city was taken possession of. On the 22nd, Vice-Admiral Duckworth arrived on the coast, and Captain Hallowell landed and joined Major-General Fraser, who, having all his troops on shore, detached 500 to effect the reduction of Rosetta and Rahmanéh, the possession of which was deemed essential to supply, not only the troops, but the inhabitants of Alexandria with food, who otherwise might run a risk of being starved. These men, consisting of the 31st regiment and chasseurs Britanniques, were placed under the command of General Wauchope, who, without any loss, obtained possession of the heights of Aboo Mandoor, which command the former town; but, instead of keeping post there, he led his whole force into Rosetta, where such a fire was poured upon them from the windows and tops of the houses, that, after a loss of 300 men, they withdrew, and were recalled to Alexandria. Another detachment, 2,500 strong, under

the command of Brigadiers Stewart and Oswald, appeared before the Alexandrian gate of Rosetta, on the 9th of April, and summoned the town to surrender. This being received with defiance, batteries were forthwith prepared; but, as there was reason to expect that a large body of Mamelukes were about to join the British army, Lieut.-Colonel Macleod, with 700 men, were sent to El Hammed, in order to facilitate a junction with the expected succour; several days of suspense passed by, however, until at length, on the morning of the 22nd, 60 or 70 vessels were seen descending the Nile, when it was discovered that this was a reinforcement sent down from Cairo to the enemy! Orders were at once transmitted to Colonel Macleod to come with all expedition to the main body, but these orders were intercepted, and the detachment at El Hammed was surrounded by an overwhelming force of Turkish horse, and after a gallant resistance, in which the whole of their ammunition was expended, they found themselves hopelessly cut off, and obliged to lay down their arms. Brigadier Stewart hastily collected the remainder of his force, and made good his retreat, but had to fight the whole way to Alexandria, losing 1000 killed, wounded, and missing, in the march. From whatever cause arising, the little army was now left wholly isolated, nor, as might have been expected, did any reinforcements arrive from the Mediterranean garrisons of Malta and Gibraltar. The fortifications of Alexandria certainly enabled the British to bid defiance to the enemy, and it was soon discovered that all apprehensions of famine were groundless. Rice enough for a year's consumption, and wheat sufficient to supply the army, navy, and inhabitants, for many months, were found in the magazines, and, indeed, provisions of all kinds were readily brought in by the inhabitants, during the whole period of the stay of the British. Nevertheless, there was great animosity in the surrounding country against the intrusion of an European force, which, through the indiscretions of Fraser and Wauchope, had obtained no respect among them for prowess; and now a formidable force of infantry and cavalry appeared from the side of Cairo, under Mehemet-Ali. General Fraser, who had been abandoned by Duckworth, and deprived of the aid of Admiral Louis by death, on board the "Canopus," now saw himself without any hopes of relief, or even, as it would appear, of instructions from home, and, losing all heart, sent a flag of truce to the Pacha, announcing that, on the delivery of the British prisoners in his hands, the army under his command would evacuate Egypt. This condition was accepted without hesitation, and on the 23rd the troops re-embarked on board their ships and returned to Sicily. The government of the day had taken an impolitic step in this affair, and furnished an illustration of Wellington's famous saying, "that a great country should never make a little war." An expedition should never be sent out without reserves being sent in succession after it, which are as essential in the plan of an enterprise as in the hour of battle.

## 3. CAPTURE OF CURACOA.

A squadron of frigates was despatched by Vice-Admiral Dacres, Commanding-in-Chief on the West India station, to reconnoitre the island of Curaçoa, and ascertain the disposition of the population to ally themselves with Great Britain. Accordingly, the "Arthusa," 38, Captain Charles Brisbane, the "Latona," 38, Captain Wood, the "Anson," 44, Captain Lydiard, and "Fisgard," 38, Captain Bolton, were placed under the command of Brisbane for this object. This gallant officer, however, having more taste and abilities for fighting than for negotiating, thought that the most ready mode of carrying out his orders was to dash right into the harbours, and, by pointing the muzzles of his guns into the windows and doors of the burghers, at once command their ready acquiescence to the transfer of their allegiance. At one in the morning of the 1st of January, the high land of Curaçoa was sighted, and the frigates having hove to hoisted out their boats and took them in tow. At daylight the squadron entered the port, and was received by the Dutch forts and shipping with a smart though ineffective fire. The frigates, however, held on until they took up a position for opening their broadsides, when Captain Brisbane sent off to the Governor the following summons : "The British squadron under my command are here to protect and not to conquer you; to preserve to you your lives, liberty, and property. If a shot is fired after receipt of this summons at any one of my squadron, I shall immediately storm your batteries. You have five minutes to accede to this determination." No notice being taken of this mission, all the frigates opened their broadsides, and, after three had been given, Brisbane, at the head of a portion of his crew, boarded and carried the Dutch frigate "Halstaar," 36, Captain Cornelius Evertz, while Captain Lydiard, with a party from the "Anson," did the same with the "Surinam," 20, Captain Van Ness. This done, Brisbane and Lydiard pulled straight for the shore, and landing together proceeded to assault Fort Amsterdam, mounting 60 guns in two tiers, which stood on the right hand of the port. The vigour of the assault was such, that, though garrisoned by 275 soldiers, the fort was carried in about ten minutes. A chain of forts on Misselburgh heights and the citadel were next assaulted and speedily secured, and 300 seamen and marines were landed to attack Fort République, an almost impregnable fortress upon a high hill, on which the British flag was seen to wave by 10 o'clock, when the whole island submitted with no greater loss to the squadron than 3 killed and 14 wounded. The Dutch are represented to have lost in killed and wounded about 200 men, including the Dutch Commodore, who was killed, and the Captain of the "Surinam" severely wounded. The Dutch resisted bravely; and, but for the suddenness of the attack, and the immediate occupation of the harbour, would have assembled a considerable reinforcement against the assailants. Perhaps a valuable colony, so protected and so defended, never before fell to a

squadron of four frigates and three ships' companies without a single soldier, on any better negotiation than pluck, energy, and rapidity.

#### 4. BRITISH EXPEDITION TO MONTE VIDEO.

The British Government, displeased at the unauthorised proceedings of Sir Home Popham in the capture of Buenos Ayres, ordered him to England to be tried by a court-martial; but the subsequent events in the river La Plate, which had brought disgrace on the British arms, required to be wiped out, and accordingly a reinforcement of 3000 men was sent there, under the command of Brigadier-General Sir Samuel Auchmuty, which, on arriving in the river on the 5th of January, under convoy of the "Ardent," 64, Captain Ross Donelly, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Sterling, found the remnant of the former expedition cooped up in Maldonado, with a scanty supply of provisions, and exposed to the daring insults of the adventurous horsemen of the Pampas. On the 13th, Maldonado was relieved and evacuated, and Sir Samuel and the Admiral resolved to turn their arms against Monte Video, a fortified seaport admirably situated for a dépôt and base of operations, but respectably garrisoned, and mounting 160 pieces of cannon on its ramparts. The squadron assembled for the purpose consisted of the "Diadem," 64, Captain Warren, to which vessel the Admiral shifted his flag, the "Raisonable," 64, Captain Josias Rowley, the "Ardent," 64, Captain Donelly, the "Lancaster," 64, Captain Fothergill; with the following frigates—"Leda," 38, Captain Honeyman, "Unicorn," 32, Captain Hardyman, "Medusa," 32, Captain Hon. Philip Duncome, besides sloops and gun-brigs. The conjunct expedition assembled off the island of Flores, and on the 16th effected a landing about 8 miles to the westward of the town, then on the 19th the army advanced and encamped 6 miles nearer Monte Video. The enemy came out of the town and attacked Auchmuty with their whole force, consisting of 6000 men and several guns. They advanced in two columns: the right one, consisting entirely of cavalry, attempted to turn his left flank, while the left one, consisting exclusively of infantry, made a front attack. The British force of 400 being somewhat pressed, Colonel Browne, in command of that wing, sent up three companies of the 40th, under Major Campbell, who fell with such impetuosity on the head of the attacking column that it gave way. An attack from some light troops completed the rout, and the Spaniards escaped into the town with the loss of a gun. The Spanish cavalry, seeing this, rapidly retired without coming into action. On the 25th, the General opened his breaching batteries, and the lighter vessels of the squadron, which could get near enough, maintained a distant cannonade. The siege continued with various results until the 2nd of February, but the defences of the place were found stronger than had been expected: the powder in the fleet was almost all blown away, and intrenching tools were, as usual, bad and insufficient. To add to these anxieties, 4000 troops, with 20 guns, were reported to be approaching to raise

the siege. Under such critical circumstances, the General resolved to hazard an assault, though the breach which had been effected could scarcely be called practicable, and orders were issued for the attack an hour before daybreak on the 3rd. A summons was sent in to the Governor, which received no answer. Accordingly, the troops destined for the assault moved forward — the light infantry and rifles under Lieut.-Colonel Brownrigg, in advance, were followed by the grenadiers under Majors Campbell and Tucker, and the 88th under Lieut.-Colonel Vassall. These were supported by the 40th under Major Dalrymple, and 87th under Lieut.-Colonel Butler; the whole commanded by Colonel Browne. The reserve was under the command of Brigadier Lumley, and consisted of the 17th Light Dragoons, and 8 squadrons of the 20th and 21st, under Lieut.-Colonel Lloyd, the 47th, one company of the 71st, and 700 marines and seamen. The assailing party had nearly arrived at the breach before they were discovered, and a heavy fire was opened upon them; but when they reached it they found it barricaded with fresh hides, and so shut up that it was mistaken for the untouched wall. Under these circumstances, the troops halted, exposed to a heavy fire, until the breach was discovered by Captain Renny, of the 40th, who led the way, and fell, but was followed by the advance, who soon pressed into the town; cannon had also been placed at the head of all the streets, but the troops, nevertheless, rushed forward in all directions, clearing the way and overturning the guns. The 87th moved to the north gate, which they expected their friends to open for them, but, too impatient to wait, they followed their Colonel up the walls, and the town, except the citadel, was secured before daylight. In these affairs, from the landing of the troops to this glorious storm, the loss of the British was about 140 killed and 350 wounded, of whom Lieut.-Colonels Vassell and Brownrigg died of their wounds, and the Brigadier Auchmuty had a horse killed under him. The casualties in the navy were few, but they captured in the harbour about 70 rigged vessels and some row gun-boats. The ships of war taken were of little value, and a sloop of war, with a vast quantity of treasure on board, was blown up during the storm.

The honour of the British flag was thus far completely avenged; but, in the anxiety of the nation to wipe out the disgrace attending Sir Home Popham and General Beresford's failure, the government, at the same time that they sent off Sir Samuel Auchmuty's expedition, directed a force of 4200 men, under General Craufurd, which had been intended for another service, to proceed to the Plata, and these two detachments effected a junction at Monte Video on the 2nd of June, and on the 15th Major-General White-locke arrived to assume the command of the entire force, now amounting to upwards of 7972 men, with 18 pieces of artillery. With this force it was deemed advisable to make an attack upon Buenos Ayres. The command of the squadron was at the same time assumed by Rear-Admiral George Murray, whose flag was on board the "Polyphemus," 64, Captain P. Heywood. Under his

direction, the troops were embarked, and on the 28th a landing was effected, without any opposition, about 10 miles to the eastward of the town. The army was then put in motion, and reached Reduction, when the General determined to cross to the opposite bank of Rio Chuelo, on which the enemy had constructed a formidable line of defence. General Whitelocke determined to turn this position, leaving directions to Colonel Mahon with two regiments to remain with the heavy artillery at the village of Reduction. In this attempt, Major-General Leveson Gower, in command of the right column, fell in with a corps of the enemy, near the ford called Passe Chies, which he gallantly attacked and defeated, and on the 30th the army was united, and on the morning of the 5th of July, Buenos Ayres was completely invested. A summons was forthwith sent in to Governor Liniers, who still remained in authority, and the amount of the force now brought against the place would, it is said, have induced that officer to surrender, but that General Elio, the last Governor of Monte Video, who was in the garrison, opposed it. Brigadier Sir Samuel Auchmuty, with the 38th and 87th Regiments, possessed himself of the strong post of the Residentia and Plaza del Toros, where he captured 600 prisoners and 32 guns, with a quantity of ammunition, and he placed the 5th in possession of the church and convent of St. Catalina. Brigadier Lumley, leading the 36th and 88th into the town, was so exposed to a heavy and continued musketry, and to a fire of grape from behind deep ditches which had been cut across the streets, that he could hardly get forward. The 36th, led by the General, overcame these obstacles, but the 88th were decimated, overpowered, and taken prisoners. The 36th found, in consequence, their flank compromised, but, nevertheless, the grenadier company, under Lieut.-Colonel Browne, gallantly charged and captured 2 guns, which they spiked, and then united themselves with Auchmuty at the Plaza de Toros. The carabiniers, led on by Lieut.-Colonel Kingston, failed in their charge, and fell back with most of their officers wounded. The division of Colonel Pack was yet more unfortunate, for, having failed to obtain possession of the Jesuits' College, they were surrounded and taken prisoners; and General Craufurd was, in like manner, foiled in the attempt to possess himself of the convent of San Domingo, and, being cut off from all communication with any of the other columns, found himself obliged, at 4 in the afternoon, to lay down his arms, as was also Lieut.-Colonel Duff, who was obliged to surrender with a detachment under his command. At the end of the day General Whitelocke found himself reduced 2500 men by these casualties, and no part of the town in his possession but the Plaza de Toros. Under these circumstances, he listened to the proposals of Colonel Liniers, the commandant of the town, to return all the prisoners in his possession, both from the affair of the morning and those that remained from Beresford's failure six months since, if he desisted from any further attack, and withdrew from the La Plata. These terms were immediately submitted to by General Whitelocke and

Admiral Murray, and a capitulation was signed on the 7th, by which the whole of the British troops were withdrawn from the Rio de la Plata, and Monte Video was restored, in the course of two months, to the state in which it existed.

The public indignation in England at this disgraceful termination of a campaign, begun under such very different hopes, and the gallant capture of Monte Video, obliged the Government to bring General Whitelocke to a court-martial, which sentenced him to be dismissed from His Majesty's service. It was clear that Whitelocke was utterly inefficient and inexperienced in the command to which he had been appointed, more by favour than for any merit of previous service, or he would not have hampered his attack by dividing his force and locking them up in the streets of an unknown city, in ignorance of its powers of defence, or of the impossibility of contending in streets, without fire-arms. He ought to have known that the city was prepared and barricaded for a desperate struggle, which, from the character of Colonel Liniers, and the failure of Beraford in the previous year, might have been foreseen, and the General should also have availed himself of the powerful train of artillery which Auchmuty had taken in Monte Video, and which was left idle in the rear, under Colonel Mahon, at Reduction. A previous bombardment would soon have overcome any attempts on the part of such a population as defended Buenos Ayres of the remotest chance of success.

#### 5. THE RUSSIAN AND TURKISH FLEETS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

Emboldened by their success over the British, the Turks hastened to equip a fleet that might raise the blockade of the Dardanelles, which not only prevented their communications with the Greek islands, from whence they exclusively derived their sailors, but created serious symptoms of a coming scarcity in Constantinople, where commotions had, in consequence, already occurred. On the 19th of May, 8 sail of the line, 6 frigates, and some corvettes, with about 50 gunboats, passed the Dardanelles, and, finding nothing to oppose them, steered for Tenedos, in which was a Russian garrison. Here the Capudan-Pacha endeavoured to land a body of troops, but they were repulsed by the Russians, and he stood over with his fleet to the coast of Natolia. On the 22nd the Turks came across a Russian squadron under the command of Rear-Admiral Greig. It consisted of "Rafael," 80, "Tverday," 74, flagship, "Motchnoy," 74, "St. Cafacl," 74, "St. Helene," 74, "Yarrowfaul," 74, "Moscow," 74, "Rawrigan," 66, "St. Petro," 66, "Skoroy," 60, "Kilduya," 26, and "Venus," 26. The Turks immediately crowded sail to escape to the Straits, but they were come up with by the enemy, and, after a running fight of two hours, they barely succeeded in sheltering their ships under the protection of the castles. In this hasty retreat, however, three of the vessels stranded upon Cape Janissary. On the 22nd of June, the Turkish fleet again sallied into the Archipelago, with 10 sail of

the line (including one three-decker), 6 frigates, and 5 smaller vessels, and, steering now for Tenedos, they disembarked some troops there, and re-took the island. On the 1st of July, the two fleets encountered each other off the island of Lemnos, and an engagement ensued, which lasted the whole day. The ship of the Capudan-Bey, mounting 80 brass guns, and manned with 774 men, struck her flag to Admiral Siniavin; two other ships of the line and three of the frigates were driven on shore; the rest of the Turkish fleet saved themselves a second time in the Dardanelles, and the Russians then recaptured Tenedos. While the British ship "Glatton," Captain Seacombe, lay off this island, a Turkish ship was seen at anchor in the port of Sigre. The captain called to his assistance the "Hirondelle" to cover an attack which he ordered to be made by the boats, which ran alongside, boarded the vessel, and took her out, but with the loss of Lieutenant Watson, who commanded them, and 4 seamen killed, and 9 wounded.

#### 6. AFFAIRS IN THE BALTIC.

Although our attention has been thus drawn to the naval affairs of the several Powers in the Mediterranean, England was at the same time keeping a watchful eye upon the Baltic Sea, on the shores of which the Emperor Napoleon was now warring with Russia, Prussia, and Sweden. Stralsund and Dantzig were already, at the beginning of the year, invested by Marshal Mortier with the 8th *corps-d'armée*. Several encounters by land had taken place during the winter, in one of which General Victor and his aide-de-camp had been taken prisoners near Stettin; but no serious blockade was established at Stralsund by Mortier, or at Dantzig by Marshal Lefebvre, till towards the end of January. On the 1st of February General Essen, the governor of Swedish Pomerania, embarked a force of 3000 men in gun-boats, and incessantly disturbed the French invading force at Stralsund; and on the 14th of March a rather considerable affair there ended to the disadvantage of the Swedes. On the 29th, however, Mortier was directed to place the blockading force under General Granjan, and to bring the rest of his corps to Wollin, to invest or restrain the garrison of Colberg.

The Baltic having thus become the scene of active operations, a British naval force was despatched, as soon as the weather permitted, to assist the Northern powers by sea in their continued conflict with the French armies; but, before the first division could reach Rügen, the aspect of affairs had materially changed. Nevertheless, on the 12th of April a squadron of 16-gun ship-sloops, under Captain Chetham, arrived off the harbour of Dantzig, and the Commodore placed himself in communication with General Kalkreuth, the Prussian governor. In order to prevent the besiegers from obtaining supplies from the sea, Captain Chetham detached the "Charles," under Captain Clephane, to cruise outside, while he himself anchored in the "Sally" in a basin formed between the two mouths of the

Vistula, in order to flank the isthmus by which alone the French could attack the works of the place.

#### 7. WAR IN POLAND.

The pause of the great French army at Warsaw brought little rest to Napoleon. It was no easy task to provide subsistence for a multitude amidst the forests and marshes of Poland. Here it was that the wonderful ability, the admirable mind for organisation, and the indefatigable activity of the Emperor, shone quite as conspicuously as in the battle field. Innumerable orders are extant to show how all the resources of Germany were placed under embargo, and periodically brought up to the supply of the French army on the Vistula. Convoys from all quarters, not only of provision, but of the munitions of war, were transported in many thousand carriages, even from the distant districts bordering on the Rhine and Danube; and the roads through Prussia appeared never so alive with commerce in its most prosperous days. In the labours which attended the re-organisation, discipline, and supply of 60,000 men and 40,000 horses, the Emperor was ably seconded by his Major-General, Berthier, and by the intelligence and experience of the Intendant-General, Count Daru. This latter functionary had a wonderful capacity for the introduction of order into every branch of administration, military or civil. He was employed by the Emperor in the above office in the campaigns of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, and administered the military occupation of the country from the Rhine to the Vistula in 1806. He was also a man of great literary distinction, a poet, and a historian; and he became Minister of War under Louis XVIII., who created him a peer of France. Hospitals were established for the army at Thorn, Posen, and Warsaw, and especial attention was paid to what is called the ambulance, for the conveyance and care of the sick. These were all formed into set regular brigades, disciplined and commanded by officers of the line. Perhaps there is no incident in Napoleon's campaigns that is more deserving of deep study by all military leaders of every country than the organisation he gave to the civil departments of the service. It is a great mistake to regard him only as a strategist; he was infinitely greater as a military administrator.

But one branch of his duties did not divert his mind from the other. Formidable entrenchments were now raised as *têtes-du-pont* at Praga, Modlin, Thorn, and every point of passage across the Vistula. The pusillanimous surrenders to the French of Stettin and Custrin had been followed by that of Glogau and Breslau, so that there was no lack of military stores or siege equipage with which to arm these defences. Brieg and Kosel surrendered almost as soon as invested on the 7th of January, and Napoleon at this time despatched Vandamme with 12,000 men to besiege Schweidnitz. Neiss and Glatz were now the only remaining towns in Silesia which still hoisted the Prussian flag. He, therefore, made his brother Jerome governor of the whole of Silesia, and confided to his

brother Louis the Electorate of Hanover, having Marshal Brune under him, to watch the mouths of the Elbe and Weser and the shores of Pomerania against any hostile descent from the fleets of Great Britain.

While the French army was thus, by the superintending care of its chief, placed in cantonments, and had every material comfort provided for it, the situation of the Russian army was such that it could scarcely be said to have had a commander.

General Kamenskoi, who had quitted it at the battle of Pultusk, was found, after many days, at Grodno, in a state of hopeless derangement, and the two next in command, Buxhowden and Benningsen, acting with mutual jealousy, stood apart at the head of their respective *corps-d'armée*. Fortunately, at this juncture, the severity of the weather, the suspension of hostilities, and the separation of the hostile armies in their respective quarters, prevented the cause of the Czar from receiving any serious injury under such a state of paralysis in the supreme command. Alexander gave this, at length, to Benningsen, and ordered his generals to meet him at Novogorod, to determine on future operations. It was observed that the two corps of Marshals Bernadotte and Ney, which now formed the actual left wing of the French Grand Army, had been pushed forward so far as to menace Königsberg, the second city of the Prussian dominions; and it was thought in this council that, by resuming hostilities at once, the Russian forces might, by a rapid movement, cut off these detached *corps-d'armée*, and then, pushing across the Lower Vistula, raise the blockades of Dantzig, Graudentz, and Colberg, and so force back the theatre of war into Western Prussia.

In furtherance of the plan of the campaign here laid down, the two corps of Buxhowden and Benningsen were now united, and crossed the Narew on the 14th of January. The division of Essen was left on the banks of the Narew, where he was joined by two other divisions out of Moldavia, as well to mask the movement as to form a reserve; and the seven divisions of Benningsen's army, numbering 68,000 men, with a numerous artillery, were on the 15th-16th put in motion with great despatch. The lakes and forests which cover the country between the Narew and the Alle, and which were nearly impracticable in winter, could not be thoroughly watched by the French outposts. On the 17th, therefore, the Russian army having advanced 10 or 12 leagues, debouched upon Rhein, in East Prussia, where the Commander-in-Chief placed his head-quarters. Forty squadrons under Prince Gallitzin, forming the advanced guard, pushed on quickly and surprised and overwhelmed on the same day a portion of Ney's light cavalry, who had advanced as far as Schippenbeil, only 10 leagues distant from Königsberg. It appears that Ney had, with his characteristic impetuosity, in contravention of the orders of Napoleon, advanced his head-quarters from Neidenburg to Altenstein, supposing that he should thus better secure the flank of the corps of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo. The Emperor, on hearing of this advanced movement of the Marshal, sent him a peremptory order: "De rentrer dans les positions qui lui avaient été indiquées

dans la position générale des quartiers d'hiver, d'en profiter pour laisser reposer sa cavalerie et réparer la faute qu'il avait faite." He received this order on the day that he was attacked (without Napoleon's knowledge) by Gallitzin, but he withdrew his corps in good order, and re-established his head-quarters at Neiberburg on the 23rd. Marshal Soult, meantime, with his superior intelligence, had penetrated the intentions of the enemy, and his reports awoke Napoleon to the necessity of raising his winter quarters and taking the offensive. With so much sagacity, however, had the cantonments been taken up, that it had been pre-calculated that the Russians might fall on Bernadotte, and he therefore had already his orders to fall back before them on Thorn, where he might serve as a pivot for the change of front of the whole French army, who would thus be able to take the enemy in flank, and threaten his line of retreat on Königsberg. This, which has been termed by Berthier "l'inimmuable plan de Napoléon" (which, as I understand it, is the changing front on a flank division, in order to bring the whole force of the front of the line to bear upon the flank and rear of an advancing enemy), is a fine example of his great ability in the handling of troops, his deep reflection on the probable movements of his adversary, and his capability of moving in any direction an army of 80,000 men with the same facility that a colonel would move a single regiment on a field-day.

General Benningsen advanced his head-quarters, on the 24th, to Heilsburg, on which day his advanced guard had an affair with the hussars of Bernadotte at Liebstadt, on the Passargo, in which a French regiment was entirely destroyed, and only a few hussars with Colonel Barthe, who was wounded, saved themselves. On the 25th, General Markow appeared before Mohrungen at the head of his Cossacks, who inundated the plain, marching on the road towards Liebstadt. Markow had with him from 16,000 to 17,000 men, under Lieut.-General Ansepp, and with these took up a position between Georgenthal and Pfarrensfeld. The Prince of Ponte-Corvo was taken completely by surprise in this advance of the Russian army, for he had been directed by Napoleon to extend his corps as far as Elbing, in order to straiten the garrison of Dantzig, besieged by Lefebvre, and had, in consequence, removed his head-quarters to Mlava. Here he was apprised by Marshal Soult and by his Chief of his Staff, General Maison, whom he had left at Osterode, of the forward movement of the Russians, and marching forthwith and uniting, as he went along, the scattered divisions of Dupont, Drouet, and Rivaud, he repaired rapidly to Mohrungen, which is on the road to Osterode. The distances whence he had to collect his corps were, however, so great, that, if the enemy had pushed at once promptly forward, it would have rendered this concentration impossible. The Prince-Marshall, accompanied by a single battalion of light infantry and a brigade of cavalry, under General Laplanche, arrived in the very nick of time at Mohrungen, where he found General Drouet with two regiments of his division, which he had brought up in haste from Saalfeld; General Pacthod

was already there with a regiment of the line and the cavalry which had fled from Liebstadt, comprising a force altogether of 9 battalions and 11 squadrons. As Dupont might be hourly expected with his division from Preusseich-Holland, Bernadotte determined, notwithstanding the disparity of his force, to take the offensive and attack General Markow. He immediately ordered forward a battalion to threaten the left of the enemy, and opened some guns to protect the advance of the 9th Light Infantry, who were to storm the village of Pfarrersfeldchen. A warm engagement ensued, in which this regiment lost its eagle, and was forced to retire; but General Werlé being sent down in support with another battalion, the soldiers were so enraged at the affront that they fell upon their opponents and recovered the eagle. At length, after a conflict, in which General Ansepp fell grievously wounded, the French succeeded in carrying the village. Markow, however, held his ground behind it, and the night approached. Notwithstanding this, Bernadotte formed his troops in line, and advanced boldly against the enemy, for, at the same moment, Dupont appeared on the field, and attacked with vigour the Russian right wing. General Markow could not withstand this double attack, and, after a stout resistance, withdrew in good order to Liebstadt, leaving 1000 or 1200 men on the field. Markow had indiscreetly advanced to Mohrungen without orders, and without having apprised Gallitzin of his forward movement, who was only three leagues distant, at Alt-Reichau. The Prince, hearing the firing, promptly sent Prince Michel Dolgorucki at the head of a detachment of cavalry to his support, who, in the middle of the night, penetrated into the little town of Mohrungen, where he found the non-combatants committing all kinds of excesses. The Russian Prince, however, occupied the town in the best way he could, when, after a little while, the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, having settled his troops in their camp, returned with a battalion and some dragoons. Some fighting ensued, in which the Cossacks were driven out of the place, when Bernadotte, satisfied with the issue of the day, withdrew his troops upon Osterode, where, on the 26th, he joined the division of Rivaud, and took up his position at Liebmühl.

The only result of this encounter was to stagger the Russian tactics, for Benningsen had failed to surprise Bernadotte, and that able and active leader had now collected his troops together, and was ready for any further encounter. The Russian General, therefore, gathered in his troops, and marched on Mohrungen, where he rested inactive till the 2nd of February.

It was only on this same day that the Emperor was correctly informed of the movements of the Russian army. He immediately sent to remind all his Marshals and leaders of divisions to act upon the orders they had already received from him, in case of such an attack. These orders of Napoleon, dated the 23rd and 26th January, have been considered a perfect manual of the art of war, and show how he laboured to foresee and to anticipate every possible hostile movement from an enemy, and with what sound and true judgment he provided against every possible contingency. It is a good lesson

to the young theorists and admirers of genius, as evincing the necessity of severe study to bring down its highest flights to the level of practice in war. In carrying out the "plan immutable," he had directed Lefebvre, without taking his eye from Dantzig, to repair to Thorn : "Pour mettre ce point important à l'abri de toute insulte ;" and sent orders to Augereau, who was at Posen, to move up to the right bank of the Vistula, upon the same point ; and, on the very day of the fight of Mohrungen, although in ignorance of its result, he directed Bernadotte to concentrate his corps at Osterode, and, in case he should be outflanked on his left, by the continued advance of the enemy, "Vous manœuvriez de manière à couvrir Thorn et le flanc gauche du Maréchal Ney," who was to keep firm hold of Neidenberg, while Soult was to occupy Willenberg in force. Pultusk was watched by Marshal Davoust, and General Savary, with the corps of Lannes, was detached along the Bug, to watch the division under General Von Essen. Lannes and Murat were both on the sick list, but the latter, nevertheless, mounted his horse, and assembled his cavalry at Mlava, and Massena was now sent for out of Italy to succeed Marshal Lannes. Bessières, with the Guard, moved up to form a reserve to Soult, and Prince Jerome and Marshal Mortier were ordered to be on the alert for anything that might be required of them, while to Marshal Duroc it was given to guard Warsaw from every insult. The grand fault of the Russian General-in-Chief was to have permitted Makrow to have been defeated at Mohrungen, which he could have so readily prevented, and to have lost so much valuable time in remaining there. Napoleon had, in consequence, attained the means of resuming the offensive—always a great advantage in war, and had got his line into the new position, so as to be enabled to fall with force upon the left flanks of the enemy. It was not till the 30th that the Emperor removed his head-quarters from Warsaw; on the 31st, he had placed them at Willenberg ; and now, on the 3rd of February, he yet further advanced them to Allenstein. Napoleon, in his general desire to inspire his Lieutenants with his whole mind in his plans, now addressed a new despatch to Bernadotte, in which he explained every thing. It would appear that up to this period he had not availed himself of the use of cipher in his correspondence, and, unfortunately for his plans, the messenger, with this despatch, was intercepted by the Cossacks, and had not the address to destroy the valuable missive with which he was intrusted. Accordingly, it not only apprised the enemy of his movements, but deprived the Prince of Ponte-Corvo of his instructions.

So long as the Russian General-in-Chief remained at Mohrungen, Gallitzin, with the left wing of the advance, occupied Mondtken, Ostermann was placed opposite to Allenstein, and Barclay de Tolly to Osterode. The right wing, under Prince Bagration, was at Deutsch-Eylau (which was occupied by Count Pahlen), and at Langont under General Bagovout. The army was divided into three corps, each composed of three divisions : the first, commanded by Lieutenant-General Tutschacow, was at Somerot ; the second,

at Gotteswalden, under Baron de Sacken; and, the third, at Guttstadt, under General Somow. The Prussians, under Lieutenant-General Lestocq, were at Freistadt. This brave and active officer had succeeded in raising the blockade of Gaudenz, the key to the Lower Vistula, and in placing it in a situation to hold out through the campaign. The corps of General Essen was on the Narew, with head-quarters at Ostrolenka. On the 2nd, General Benningsen collected his army in position on the heights of Jonkowo, extending from the Alle to the Parsage, which flanked it on either hand; the left by the Lake of Allenstein, and the right towards Liebmühl; and Lestocq was directed to move towards Osterode, on the right of the army.

The object of the Russian General was to pass the Alle, at Allenstein, and to force back Napoleon to the Vistula, but the latter was on the alert, and master of the passage. Murat, indeed, was already with his cavalry, on the 2nd, at Allenstein, and Ney was now in full march thither from Hohenstein, followed by Augereau. Napoleon was, in fact, prepared to strike the blow, and he accordingly made his dispositions to give it with effect. Marshal Davoust was ordered to leave a strong rear-guard to keep watch upon Essen, and to march the remainder upon Wartenberg. Soult was directed to defile along the Alle, and possess himself of the bridge at Bergfried, towards which Davoust was desired to expedite the division of General Friant, in order to turn the enemy's right, which would bring matters to an effectual issue. The Russians were well aware of the importance of this post, and had occupied it with 12 battalions and 15 guns, under General Kamen-skoi. It was already 3:30 in the afternoon when the French opened their attack, by a violent cannonade, which General Dulalouy directed against the Russian artillery. General Leval sent down General Schinner to force the bridge, while General Viviez attempted to ford the river above the village; but the bridge was so well barred, and so well defended, that the French were obliged to withdraw these troops. In the ardour of this contest, however, in the defile, the Russians had neglected the heights that commanded the left banks, and General Viviez immediately crowned these with his brigade. General Leval, observing this, took advantage of the movement to renew the assault, and, at the head of his troops, and in spite of the fire of Dululoup's guns, he carried the bridge. If it had not been for the approach of night, the consequences to the enemy would have been more serious; as it was, the Russians lost 1200 men and 6 guns. Napoleon, expecting a general engagement on the following day, established the Imperial bivouac at Getkendorff, and thence despatched his orders to his Marshals for the morrow.

#### 8. BATTLE OF PREUSSISCH-EYLAU — AFFAIR AT OSTROLENKA.

At break of day of the 4th, the whole French army was in motion. General Lasalle, with the light cavalry, found himself in

presence of a horde of Cossacks, who appeared as though they were prepared to stop his advance. Napoleon was early on horseback, and, with the Grand-Duke of Berg, reconnoitred the enemy with a division of cavalry, while Ney debouched from the woods of Jonkovo, which he had won from the enemy the previous day. Soult, filing over the Alle, by the bridge of Bergfried, carried the village from the enemy, who lost, in its defence, 1200 men. A fierce cannonade ensued, which gradually weakened, when it was discovered that Benningsen had broken up from his position in the middle of the night, and was in full retreat, in three columns, each covered in its march by a strong rear-guard. On the 4th, Benningsen halted, at Wolfersdorf, to give time for Lestocq to march with his Prussian division, which had only reached Mohrungen the same day. Seeing, however, that the French were close upon him, the Russian Commander-in-Chief determined to let the Prussian shift for himself, and, abandoning Guttstadt, in which were some magazines, he continued his retreat to Frauendorff, whence, in the night of the 5th-6th, he proceeded to Landsberg, having in view to cross the Pregel, and secure his communications with the Russian frontier. Napoleon, anticipating this object, persevered in threatening his left flank, and sent forward Soult, Davoust, Murat, and Ney, to press the enemy's retreat, while he merely kept Augereau and Bessières, with the Imperial Guard, about his person. But, while the columns defiled under the very eye of the Emperor, he received information that a strong corps of the enemy was at Liebstadt, seeking to cross the river Passargo. This was Lestocq, marching with all his speed after Benningsen's army. Ney was immediately sent after the Prussians, but Murat had already come up with their rear-guard, under General Kluchzner, near Wallendorff. Lestocq now treated the main Russian army as he had been treated by them, and left them to take care of themselves, while he saved himself by taking the direction of Schlodein, whence he marched to Husschnen, near Preussisch-Eylau, which he reached on the 7th. Kluchzner was nearly surrounded, but escaped with the loss of 2000 men and 16 guns. Had the Prince of Ponte-Corvo received the orders transmitted to him by Napoleon, the whole of the Prussian corps must have been destroyed; but he did not hear of the movements of the grand army till the 4th, when he hastily followed it, but had only reached Osterode on the 6th, three days' march in arrear. The Russian army, having reached Landsberg, seemed disposed to halt for a day, and placed a strong rear-guard, with a numerous cavalry, in a position at Hoff, having the village to the right, and a wood to the left, under General Barclay de Tolly; but Napoleon, with Murat, Soult, and Augereau, had already reached Freymarct, and marched forward in a single column, while Murat at once fell upon them. Two of the Russian regiments were cut to pieces, and an immense number of prisoners, including Prince Gallitzin, were made in the *mélée*. Benningsen sent forward several brigades of fresh troops to support his rear-guard, but they could not regain their position at Hof, for Soult, with the division of Legrand, and

Murat, with General D'Hautpoul's cuirassiers, held it against every attempt until nightfall, when Benningsen, not being able to hold his ground at Landsberg, retired on Eylau, where he established his head-quarters on the 7th.

Benningsen, by continually making his marches by night, and taking up a position by day, as if he were offering battle, had given time to his heavy artillery to retire, and had kept his army well in hand; but now that he was arrived within seven or eight leagues of Königsberg, he thought it his duty to try to check the enemy, and not deliver up the last Prussian city, filled with all kind of stores, without a struggle. He therefore formed up his army, about 58,000 strong, behind Eylau, leaving four brigades of infantry, with cavalry, under Prince Bagration, to occupy the plateau of Ziegelhoff, and hold the road from Landsberg, while to General Barclay de Tolly was left the defence of the town. The rest of the army formed up in two lines, infantry and cavalry mixed. General Tutschow commanded the right wing, General Ostermann Tolstoy the left, General Sacken was in the centre, and General Doctorow in reserve. The Prussian division, under Lestocq, though hard pressed by Ney's corps, attained the right of the position at Althof. A numerous artillery, said to count 400 pieces, garnished the whole front of the Russian position. The country was covered with woods and lakes, but, under the operation of the frost, the ground was everywhere practicable, and the snow, falling heavily, covered hill and valley, land and water, and so effectually concealed the nature of the surface, that the cavalry of both armies charged across frozen lakes, without knowing it. The town stands upon a height, commanding the roads from Landsberg, as they debouched from the woods on the plain and open ground about Teuknillen and Ziegelhof. Bagration was directed to defend the ground inch by inch, in order to gain time for the artillery and Prussians to get into line.

It was 2 in the afternoon of the 7th when the French appeared, entering the village of Grünhofchen, on the high road from Landsberg. Marshal Soult at once reconnoitred the position, and ordered the brigade of Lavasseur to advance against the front, and that of Viviez to make a *détour* on his right, to turn its left flank. The front attack was met by General Markow, who drove back the enemy, and the dragoons of St. Petersburg, coming upon the French left flank, cut to pieces the 18th Regiment, and captured its eagle. They were met, however, by a division of cavalry, under General Klein, who restored the fight, and drove the Russian dragoons back to the very town. Markow resisted stoutly, but the arrival of Viviez on his flank forced him to withdraw to Eylau, into which he was so closely followed by the enemy, that they entered it pell-mell with his division. Here Barclay de Tolly occupied the churchyard, which he had prepared for a vigorous defence. Napoleon and Benningsen both saw the importance of this post, and the contest for its possession was fearful. It was 10 at night before the chances of war gave possession of it to the brigade of

Viviez, after a fierce contest, in which De Tolly was seriously wounded. This was one of the most bloody affairs of outpost that had occurred, and Soult's loss was such that his troops were quite disorganised; they seized on Eylau in search of food and drink, and spared, in their fury, neither carnage nor pillage. The division of Legrand, being least undisciplined, were brought back out of the town, and bivouacked on the outside. The divisions St. Hilaire and Leval were halted to the right, and formed in two lines, having the cavalry of Milhaud in the adjoining village of Rothenen. Urgent orders were transmitted to hasten Marshal Davoust, who was advancing down the Alle on Bartenstein, and who replied that he would be sure to be in line by daybreak, and it was hoped that Ney, who was on the left, near Kreutzburg, might also be up as soon as Lestocq, whom he was following. Davoust was on the right, facing Klein Sausgarten and Serpalten; Soult, immediately in front of his bloody acquisition of Eylau, had re-organised his corps to form the centre; Murat's cavalry and Augereau were in reserve behind this point. Napoleon was persuaded by Murat (whose sanguine temperament assured him the enemy were in full retreat) to lay himself down for rest in the post-house of the town, and here, after a hard day's work of some twenty hours, he placed himself on a three-legged stool, and slept soundly; but he was no sluggard at any time, and, before daybreak, he was on horseback, and at the outposts, where a furious cannonade raged already.

Benningsen had prepared a strong force to retake the town of Eylau, and his heavy guns were at once brought forward to cover the advance. Napoleon, who occupied the churchyard with the Guard, ordered 40 guns to reply thence to the Russian fire. The effect of all this artillery fire is described as awful, but the French bombardiers, working with more precision than their enemy, caused him great destruction, while, on other hands, the Russians' shells set fire to the town. During the continuance of the cannonade, Napoleon arranged his intended attack, which was to be made on the Russian left, on which he had already set in motion the corps of Davoust. The divisions of Heudelet and Desjardins of Augereau's corps were moved more to the flank, and ordered forward; but, at the moment of their advance, a heavy fall of snow, driven by the wind right into the face of the soldiers, disordered the march, and Augereau, as well as his two generals of division, were wounded, in endeavouring to lead their men in the right direction. The troops accordingly leaned away too much to the right, and a considerable gap was occasioned opposite the enemy's centre, which it was the design of Napoleon to pierce. With a marvellous quickness of eye and decision, the blot was seen, and orders were immediately sent to the Grand-Duke of Berg to place himself at the head of all the cavalry, and penetrate the Russian centre. Marshal Bessières was, in like manner, ordered by the Emperor to carry forward all the horse of the Guard, to assist this operation. The Russian horse, inferior in number, came forward to receive

the charge, but were overturned at the first shock, and the Russian infantry, being thus exposed to Murat's attack, suffered dreadfully under their sabres. The carnage at this period of the fight that befel the French, was horrible. De Hautpoul fell dead, and Generals Corbineau and Dahlmar were stretched wounded on the ground. The Russian battalions, though driven back and scattered, rallied behind their third line, and Benningsen, perceiving the extent of the danger, despatched orders to the whole of his reserve to advance in support. The French cuirassiers, which had penetrated through Essen's division, now encountered the Cossacks of the Don, under Platoff, who broke through, and scattered them. These children of the desert curiously displayed their love of plunder on this occasion, when half of them reappeared out of the conflict cased in the shining armour which they had stripped from their opponents. Murat was obliged to fall back, and take up his old ground near Eylau.

While these things were proceeding on the French right, a Russian division, 5000 or 6000 strong, under Doctorow, forced their way between the division of Legrand and the corps of Augereau, and actually reached the churchyard in which Napoleon had taken post. He instantly directed his Guard to charge, and ordered his escort to join in the attack. Murat, seeing the occurrence, sent up General Bruyère with some chasseurs, who in a short time cleared the village under the eye of Napoleon, but the divisions Desjardins and D'Heudelet were cruelly treated; and, indeed, Augereau's entire corps suffered so severely, that it was altogether disbanded after the battle, and the divisions composing it transferred to other *corps-d'armée*.

The Emperor was naturally impatient for the arrival of Davoust on the field, but it was 1 o'clock before that Marshal was seen near Sansgarten. General Friant, commanding the advance, passed through the forest, and fell on the division of Bagavout, and drove them back to Kutschitten, where Ostermann Tolstoy, with 8000 or 10,000 men, encountered the French, and endeavoured to get round their right flank, but was forced to yield the ground, after a severe and bloody fight. Friant was successively supported with the divisions of Morand and Gudin, and Benningsen strengthened Ostermann with the division of Kamenskoi, and opened a plunging fire from 30 heavy guns upon their advance; but the Russian chief could not prevent their occupation of Auklappen. The ground so fiercely contested was abandoned by the Russians, and the French went forward through the wood of Auklappen, almost to Kutschütten. The Russian left wing, under Sacken, was completely destroyed at this period of the day, and Benningsen had now employed all the reserves, while Napoleon, according to his established rule, had his reserves untouched. The Imperial Guard had, up to this moment, scarcely fired a shot.

It was 4 o'clock when the Prussians, under Lestocq, arrived upon the road from Altdorf to Schoditten. He had answered the call of his superior more effectively than Ney, who, in his desire to out-

flank him in the pursuit, had made a more roundabout march. A reinforcement of 12 battalions and 36 squadrons, counting 9000 men, was, if not sufficient to re-establish the victory, enough to avert defeat. Lestocq immediately attacked the village of Kutschütten, and drove back Davoust and Augereau, who had succeeded in entering it. He then united himself with such of the Russians as he could collect, and fell with so much vigour on Davoust, that his corps, wearied by their day's work, yielded to the ardour of the Prussian troops, gave way, and were driven back into the woods, when the approach of night put an end to the contest, and the French took up a position at Klein Sausgarten. Before the daylight ceased, however, Ney appeared upon the field, and both armies were startled by a sharp fire on the extreme right, when *la brave des braves* fell with such fury on the Russian right, under Tutschakow, that they quickly withdrew before him to Schmoditten. Benningsen immediately ordered the division of Kamenskoi to advance and storm the village, and at 10 at night it was recovered by the Russians in the most gallant style.

The loud cheers of the victorious troops were heard at the Imperial head-quarters, and it would appear that Napoleon now almost quailed before the casualties of this horrible day, and had even thought of retiring to effect a junction with the corps of Bernadotte; but the day of his reverses had not yet dawned, and the great conqueror was relieved from a Russian triumph by the proceedings of the Russian Commander-in-Chief, who is represented to have assembled a council of war on horseback, at 11 o'clock at night, in which it was strongly contended by Barclay de Tolly, his second in command, that he ought not to retire; but Benningsen urged that, owing to the arrival of Ney, and the expected reinforcement coming up with Bernadotte, it could not be possible for him to resist successfully, and a retreat accordingly commenced at midnight. Napoleon bivouacked in the midst of his troops, in the churchyard of Eylau, and ordered the men to be kept to their divisions, and on no account to seek for refreshments, but that bread and brandy should be carried out to them in their camps.

The morning light showed a white extent of snow, covered with the dead and the dying. Soult's corps was grievously thinned, and Augereau's corps was almost extinct. The great bulk of loss, however, had not been with infantry; the battle had been, for the greater part, a contest of artillery and cavalry. The killed and wounded on the side of the French are stated at 20,000, and on that of the Russians at 25,000; but there were few or no prisoners on either side. Sixteen colours and 24 guns were found left on the field. On either side there was a display of constancy and courage enough to confer immortality on individuals; but on neither side had the leader attained his object. Napoleon had announced at Paris, that "on the morrow he should be at Königsberg," but his outposts had not even seen the steeples of that city; the Russians had aspired to drive the enemy across the Vistula, and they were themselves driven behind the Pregel. The one had found trophies in the abandoned camp; the other marched off with twelve eagles

captured in the fight. The one crossed the Pregel; the other fell back on the 17th, and withdrew into winter quarters, resting their left on the river Passargo, their centre behind the Alle, and their left, comprising Bernadotte's corps, which now joined the army, on the shores of the Friche Haff. Napoleon established his Court at Osterode, whence he could superintend the siege of Dantzig, which he now determined should occupy his attention, while his soldiers might recover a little from all the privations of their winter campaign.

In the new position thus taken up by the French army, the Prince of Ponte-Corvo retained the bridge of Spandeu, which fell to his occupation, while Marshal Soult, on the contrary, caused that of Mohrungen, which belonged to his lines, to be destroyed. "Voyez," said Napoleon, "Bernadotte a agi plus militairement, il a gardé son pont, et Soult, qui aurait dû le garder plutôt que Bernadotte, l'a coupé, par lequel il est mis dans l'impossibilité d'aller secourir Ney, si les Russes voudraient l'attaquer."

Before, however, Napoleon himself sought repose in his headquarters, he sent General Bertrand to offer terms to the King of Prussia, if he would withdraw from the Alliance; but Frederick-William could not be induced, by this tempting offer, to quit the ranks of the Czar, who had received him so nobly in his adversity, and he declined to treat at all.

The French had only just taken up their winter quarters, early in February, when the Russian General, Essen, received orders to advance along both banks of the Narew, and attack the French corps at Ostrolenka. Here was the little *corps-d'armée* of Lannes, now forming the extreme right, and commanded, during the Marshal's illness, by Savary, who was quite prepared to receive his adversary. When, on the 15th, the Russians, in two columns, encountered him on the right bank of the river, he forthwith directed General Gazan to attack, and one column was soon stopped, and forced to retire towards Nowogrod. The column that moved on the left bank reached Ostrolenka, where they were received by Generals Campagna and Ruffin. The latter general, at the head of a reserve of grenadiers, had been sent to the succour of Savary by Oudinot, and their presence saved the town, which was already in the hands of the enemy. On the 16th, Savary collected all his force, and attacked General Essen in his turn, when he defeated him with the loss of 1200 killed and 7 gans. Young Suwarrow, the son of the famous old Marshal, was among the slain on this occasion. On the 17th, Savary pushed his success, and secured completely the right of the French army, which he had been appointed to guard, and covered the communications of the grand army with Warsaw, until Marshal Massena now arrived from the army of Italy to supersede him in his command.

Napoleon was no idler at any time — the waste of men and the exhaustion of his dépôts required now all his care. He ordered a new conscription of 80,000 men, the third that he had required since the commencement of the Prussian war. Observing, likewise, the

superiority of the Russian artillery in the late conflict, he also ordered from France all the bombardiers that could be spared, and fresh guns to be cast on the models of those he had captured from the enemy. Napoleon was tired of this distant campaign, to which he had become reduced, and sought on every side the means of bringing it to a speedy conclusion. It was, amongst other matters, brought to his serious notice, that no less a number of men than 60,000 were reported as absent from their regiments, who had fallen out of the ranks during the hardships of the winter campaign, and had established themselves in villages to the right and left of the great road behind the Vistula, where they were living in luxury at the expense of the inhabitants. Monsieur Daru brought the matter to the Emperor's notice by discovering that the number maintained in hospital was not at all equal to those reported to be there by the regimental returns, and they were immediately searched out, and restored to their divisions.

#### 9. SIEGE OF DANTZIG.

While both armies thus rested to recover their fatigues, Prince Jerome, having General Vandamme under him, was busy besieging and occupying the fortified places of Silesia. On the 10th of January, the fortress of Schweidnitz was invested by the Würtembergers. It was gallantly defended by the Prussian governor, who employed the system of mines with good effect; but, nevertheless, it fell, after nine days of open trenches. The Prince of Anhalt Dessau covered with his corps all the approaches to Glatz; and, though driven under the walls by General Lefebvre-Desnouettes, he prevented the enemy from undertaking the siege of that town. With a corps of Bavarians and Würtembergers, Brieg was invested towards the end of January, and capitulated on the 8th of February. Neiss, the strongest fortress of Upper Silesia, was invested on the 24th of February, but General Kleist, from Glatz, disturbed the siege, by moving up against the besiegers, and it did not surrender till the 16th of June. From the moment that the Emperor withdrew behind the Passargo into winter quarters, he authorised Marshal Lefebvre to collect from all quarters a force amounting to 18,000 men, in order to undertake the siege of Dantzig, and on the 1st of April that place was effectually invested.

The capture of a strong fortress at the mouth of the Vistula was, not only strategically but politically, a result of the greatest moment. It was at this time garrisoned by 12,000 Prussians and three Russian battalions, commanded by Field-Marshal Kalkreuth, having the celebrated engineer, Bousmard, under him. It was at first resolved to blockade it, but it was impossible to close the harbour against the British, except by the occupation of the islands which defended the approach from the Baltic. Dantzig was a place of great importance in every point of view, but it had been regarded rather as a commercial entrepôt than as a fortress, until General

Manstein, the Governor in charge of the place at the period of the misfortunes which threatened Prussia, after the battles of Jena and Auerstädt, exerted himself with immense activity to repair the walls and the palisades, and to complete the *enceinte*. The besieging corps consisted of two Polish divisions under General Doubrouski, and the contingents of Baden and Saxony under General Ménaud, together with some Italians under General Teulié; but, while these troops were employed in the investment of the town, two French divisions and a brigade of French cavalry under General Kirgener formed the actual besieging force, which was directed by Generals Chasseloupe, of the engineers, and Laribrissière of the artillery. In the interval between the 1st of February and the 1st of April, the garrison had been successively driven from Dirschau and the isle of Nogath, and on the 12th of March Lefebvre established the head-quarters of the siege at Rosenberg and the grand park of siege artillery at Langenau. On the 18th, the land investment was only open on the side of the Isle of Nehrung or Holme, a vast extent of sand lying between the shores of the Baltic and the Salt lake called the Fische-Haff, and dividing the Vistula into two branches. Along these sands a communication, only closed by a ferry at Pillau, existed with the city of Königsburg, by which, at the eleventh hour, Marshal Kalkreuth had been enabled to enter the fortress, and assume the command. On the opposite side of the Vistula, the fortress of Weichselmunde required to be reduced before undertaking the siege. On the 26th, Kalkreuth tried two sorties—one directed through the suburb of Schidnitz, with a view of burning it, and the other, commanded by a distinguished outpost officer, Colonel Krakow, was to make an attempt upon the artillery park, at Langenfurth. The suburb was burned, but Krakow was intercepted in his march by the French chasseurs, and taken prisoner.

A council of war was now held, at which the plan of the siege was determined. On the side of the faubourgs of Schihiitz and Stoltzenberg there is a valley, between the *enceinte* and the opposing ground, which is elevated, and two forts, called Bischofsberg and Hagelsberg, connected by a line of earthworks, occupied this height, forming a double wall. This side was resolved upon for the principal attack; but strong demonstrations were to be, at the same time, addressed towards the entrenched camp of Neufahrwasser, at the actual embouchure of the river, and General Schramm, from the side of Nehrung, was to intercept all communication of this camp and the fort of Weichselmunde with the town, by way of the isle of Holm. These arrangements having been made, the trenches were opened at 800 paces, on the night of the 1st and 2nd of April, and, when the morning of the 2nd broke, the besieged were surprised to find the crest of the Zigaukenberg crowned with a long line of earthwork, and Prince Radzivill, with a division of Poles, in possession of the village of Aller, between that river and the Vistula. It was against the Hagelsberg that the most serious advance was to be made, for the redoubt of Bischofsberg was found to be more complete in its formation, and was better flanked by the

ramparts of the place. The zigzags, therefore, from the first parallel were, accordingly, so directed as to open a flank fire upon the Hagelsberg, rather than a breaching power upon the Bischofsberg. The besieged, as soon as they were aware of this intention, worked by the sap to counteract it, and had very nearly established themselves on the height to which the second parallel was directed. However, on the night of the 10th, an attempt was made by the engineer, Roguinet, at the head of 500 men, to counteract this step, and he succeeded, notwithstanding a fire of grape from the works, in getting into the sap, and began the work of its destruction; but the assailants could not live under the fire to which they were exposed, and they yielded possession to the besieged; but, at 1 in the morning of the 11th, they returned to the attack, and succeeded in destroying the whole of the work. The besieged, nevertheless, again repaired it, and succeeded in surrounding it with chevaux-de-frise, so that it was resolved to make a more resolute attempt on the 12th, and General Paethod proceeded to attack it, in front and flank, with a battalion of Saxons. The Prussians defended it stoutly, and it was taken and retaken three times, until, at length, it remained to the besiegers. On the 13th, in the morning, however, it was again attacked and taken by the besieged, so that Marshal Lefebvre saw the necessity of putting an end to these conflicts, by taking forcible possession of the ground. On the 14th, the batteries having been armed, were in full fire. On the 16th, a sortie was directed by the besieged from the fort of Weichselmunde upon General Gardanne, who had occupied the earthwork, thrown up for the surveillance of the canal which formed the island of Holm. The attack was so serious that the Marshal was obliged to send down strong reinforcements; nevertheless, it was not till after seven hours' hard fighting that the besiegers remained masters of the ground. The second parallel was now complete, and the plateau was crowned and armed on the night of the 16th-17th. The fire from the place was, however, so severe, that sharpshooters were placed in *trous de loup*, to pick off the gunners at their guns on the ramparts. On the 17th, the British ship-sloop "Sally," 16, Captain Chetham, finding that the island of Holm was now cut off from the sea by the possession of the canal of Laach, resolved upon making an attempt to open it, and, on the 17th, by great exertions, and by lightening his ship of all her heavy stores, he succeeded in getting through the shallow water. At about sunset, he commenced a close action with the besiegers, in number about 2000, at the Great Hollands, in the Neh-rung. Captain Chetham tried in vain, owing to the strength of the current, to bring his broadside of 24-pounder cannonades to bear upon the ruined houses occupied by the French, who had 3 guns with them, which were served so well that they succeeded in bringing down the sloop's mizen mast. At the same time, the incessant fire of musketry was such that upwards of 1000 bullets lodged in the hull of the ship, and nearly half of her crew were wounded. The "Sally," accordingly, at nightfall, hauled down the stream, and resumed her position outside the harbour.

The rain and snow came down in such abundance on the 19th, 20th, and 21st, that the works of the besiegers made little progress; but, on the night of the 22nd-23rd, the trenches were again opened, and it was resolved to commence the bombardment of the town from 56 pieces of heavy cannon. The besiegers had now in battery 18 24-pounders and 28 12-pounders, besides mortars and howitzers. They had also batteries of light guns, 6-pounders and 3-pounders, sufficient to play upon the head of the sap, which was the more difficult to work in from the brightness of the moonlight. The bombardment continued during the 23rd and 24th, when, as the fire of the besieged had attained a marked superiority over that of the besiegers, the Marshal summoned the Governor, but, of course, with no result. Kalkreuth, nevertheless, found the effect of this cannonade so insupportable, that he determined upon a sortie at 10 in the evening of the 26th, but the French were prepared for it, and, under General Ménard, made such a resistance as cost the garrison 150 killed, a great number wounded, and 700 prisoners. On the 28th, another sortie of 2000 men reached the third parallel, but was driven back, after much hard fighting, by General Michaud. An attempt to relieve the city was made by a British sloop of war, under Captain Strachey, who, having, as he thought, a favourable wind, ran up the river, carrying 600 barrels of gunpowder for the garrison; but the breeze fell, and he ran on shore in the Holm, when the "Dauntless," with her valuable cargo, became a prize to the besiegers, in sight of the mortified and disappointed garrison. On the 2nd of May, the sap had reached the saillant of the demi-lune, and another sortie was made on that night, and one again on the 4th. The veteran Marshal, impatient at the length of the siege, and of these continual and harassing petty engagements, was desirous of ending it by an assault, and sent to the Emperor to demand his permission; but, seeing there was yet no breach of any kind, the reply was a reprimand: "La poitrine de vos grenadiers, que vous voulez mettre partout ne renversera pas des murailles. Il faut laisser faire vos ingénieurs et écouter les avis du Général Chanteloup, qui est un savant homme, et auquel vous ne devrez pas ôter votre confiance, sur le dire du premier petit critiqueur se mêlant de juger ce qu'il est incapable de comprendre. Reservez le courage de vos grenadiers pour le moment où le science dira qu'on peut l'employer utilement, et en attendant, sachez avoir de la patience. Quelques jours perdus ne méritent pas que vous fassiez tuer quelque mille hommes, dont il est possible d'économiser la vie. Montrez le calme, la suite, l'aplomb qui conviennent à votre âge. Votre gloire est dans la prise de Dantzic; prenez cette place, et vous serez content de moi." Napoleon has been charged with recklessness of the lives of his soldiers; this reply, at least, may be adduced in his favour. The isle of Holm, occupied by the besieged, was a continual trouble to the left flank of the trenches, which were annoyed by the fire from a redoubt upon it, called Kalke-Schanze. Marshal Lefebvre thought it now high time to take possession of it, and, on the night of the 6-7th, combined a double attack, one from

the side of the Vistula, by General Drouet, and the other from that of the Canal de Laach, by General Gardanne. Both attacks succeeded, the isle was completely cleared, and the Kalke-Schanze taken by assault with a garrison of 180 men. On the 8th, the besiegers were established on the crest of the covered way, but, on the following day, found out that it was mined, under which circumstances, the descent into the ditch could not be, for the present, attempted.

The Sovereigns of Russia and Prussia, satisfied with the bold defence of Dantzig by Kalkreuth, wished to take some measures for its relief. Bennington, however, could not venture to attempt to force back Napoleon from his camp on the Passargo and, therefore, an expedition from the sea was determined on. This was confided to General Kamenskoi, who collected a fleet of 66 transports and 3 frigates, in which he embarked at the port of Pillau from 12,000 to 15,000 men, who arrived, on the 12th, at the fort of Weichselmunde, under the guns of which the disembarkation was safely effected. The co-operation of a corps of Prussians, under Colonel Bulow, was also planned to move at the same time along the sandy isle of Nehrung, while the grand army was to be disquieted and hindered from sending up succour to the garrison by a feigned attack upon the corps of Marshal Massena on its farthest flank, between the Bug and the Narew.

Napoleon was in no uneasiness about Massena's ability to defend himself, and did not think him in want of any succours from the army under his immediate command, in this emergency, and Marshal Mortier, having concluded an armistice with the Swedes, was moreover now at liberty, and already on his march from Pomerania. Oudinot was only distant two or three marches from Dantzig, on the side of Marienberg, and was forthwith ordered to march up to Fürstenwerden, and to throw a bridge across the branch of the Vistula which separated the isles of the Nogat and Nehrung, while Marshal Lannes, now sufficiently recovered, was to bring up his renowned grenadiers to this flank. Early on the morning of the 15th, Kamenskoi commenced his march to the attack of the besiegers, in 4 columns. He was ignorant, until the moment of his advance, that the isle of Holm was in the hands of the enemy; nevertheless, at 5 in the morning, he fell upon the column of General Schram, composed of Poles and Saxons, whom he speedily overthrew; Lefebvre, from his post on the side of the Hagesberg, saw this discomfiture, and hastened down reinforcements, but Kamenskoi brought up his reserve, and would have carried the day, when Lannes came up, at the head of Oudinot's grenadiers; and, although both French Generals were unhorsed in the action, the Russians were forced to give way before the energy of the attack, and fell back under the protection of the guns of Weichselmunde. A detachment, also, which had been sent along the Nehrung, to stop Bulow's column, came up with it, at break of day, upon the Nehrung, and effectually dispersed it, with the loss of 1100 men and 4 guns. Though the Russians lost 2500 men in this encounter, it was so bloody that all

the officers of the French staff were struck down by their fire. Kalkreuth, from the garrison, only seconded this brave attempt to relieve him by a cannonade ; indeed, it is possible that he was now so hemmed in by the besiegers that he could no longer have recourse to a sortie.

The defence now depended solely on the mines, which considerably impeded the descent into the ditch, and did much mischief to the besieging force. On the 20th a final attempt was made to stop or retard the works of the besiegers by a sortie, which had the effect of destroying a portion of their works ; but, on the 21st, it became known that Marshal Mortier had arrived in the French camp, which nearly doubled their effective strength, and that now there could be no question of an effective assault, for which everything was ready. Lefebvre, however, determined to first try to move the resolute old governor by the offer of an honourable capitulation. To Colonel Lacoste, of the Engineers, was intrusted the negotiations with Kalkreuth, who could not at once accept the terms offered him, but referred it to the Czar. In the interval between that day and the 24th, the Emperor relaxed in his demands, terms were agreed upon, and the gallant old Field-Marshal marched out on the 27th, with all the honours of war, and was conducted to the Prussian outposts at Pillau with a force which had been gallantly diminished in the defence of Dantzig from 16,000 to 9000 men. They left in the fortress plenty of guns, but scarcely any gunpowder. Marshal Lefebvre entered Dantzig the same day at the head of his corps, his gallant brother-marsheals, Lannes and Mortier, declining to share the triumph which he had so justly merited, and which gained for him the title of Duke of Dantzig.

As soon as the Emperor heard that the city had surrendered, he repaired thither to inspect the defences, and brought with him the Persian Ambassador, who had come to him at his head-quarters at Finkenstein, and to whom, having already shown the might of his arms, he now gave audience of leave in the captured fortress.

#### 10. SIEGE OF STRALSUND.

The last strong place that now remained to the Allies on the western side of the Vistula was Stralsund.

Marshal Mortier had been sent, towards the middle of February, to lay siege to the capital of Swedish Pomerania. Early in March, Napoleon, who saw that he had to deal with a crack-brained opponent in the King of Sweden, thought that he might, by a show of consideration, detach him from the Alliance, and, accordingly, desired Mortier to offer an armistice to the Governor of Stralsund. The Marshal, accordingly, drew off 7000 men from the investing forces, and proceeded with them to the blockade of Colberg, leaving the troops before Stralsund, under the command of General Granjeau, as above stated. In the beginning of April, Napoleon, already anticipating the stubborn defence of Dantzig by Marshal Kalkreuth, directed the investment of Stralsund to be altogether raised, and the

blockading troops marched away to the Lower Vistula. The Swedish Governor-General, Van Essen, as soon as he perceived the withdrawal of the French, assembled his forces, and marching at the head of one column, while Lieut.-General Baron Arnfeldt headed another, came up with the French at Lussow, and completely overthrew them, driving them to Vogelshagen, where they entrenched themselves on the heights. Van Essen again attacked them, and drove them as far as Anclam, where he captured considerable magazines, together with the military chest containing 2000 Fredericks-d'or and 3000 crowns. During the progress of the French in the retreat, 20 officers and 1000 men were made prisoners. Against this advance of the Swedes, Marshal Mortier turned back, and on the 16th, at break of day, drove out the troops from Anclam, and made himself master of the bridge over the Peine, where a Swedish column, commanded by General Cardell, was cut off on the 17th. General Arnfeldt was wounded by a grape shot in this encounter, and, as soon as he found himself *hors de combat*, sent off to apprise Van Essen of his misfortune, who then despatched a flag of truce to the French Marshal to ask for time to remove the sick and wounded from the hospitals. Mortier, who knew how much his Emperor wished to detach the Swedes from the Alliance, readily granted the armistice. When the King heard of it, early in May, he repaired to Stralsund, and highly rewarded Van Essen, but disgraced Arnfeldt. The armistice was, by a supplementary convention, extended to the 29th, but on the 17th of June the King signed a treaty of alliance with England, and wrote to the King of Prussia that he still desired to abide by the Confederacy, which he also repeated in a conversation with Marshal Brune, who had succeeded Mortier.

#### 11. THE CONVENTION OF BARTENSTEIN.

The Emperor Alexander quitted St. Petersburg on the 28th of March to repair to his army, but, in the first instance, paid a visit to the King of Prussia, who resided with his family and a small court at Memel. The two Sovereigns afterwards established their head-quarters together at Bartenstein. At this place, in the month of April, Austria interposed its good offices to effect a peace, but Great Britain, under the influence of Mr. Canning, Foreign Secretary, instead of furthering this object, reverted in the most decided manner to the former policy of England, urging uncompromising hostility to the ambition of France. A treaty was accordingly signed at Bartenstein between Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia, by which the former bound herself to furnish succours in arms, ammunition, and money to the troops of the Allies, and, at the same time, undertook to disembark a strong auxiliary force at the mouth of the Elbe, to co-operate with the Swedes in Pomerania, while the combined Russian and Prussian armies should attack the French Emperor in their front. The bulk of the allied army was at this time cantoned round Heilsburg, where a formidable entrenched camp had been established. The cantonments, with the great commercial city of

Königstein in their rear, abounded in all the usual comforts of military quarters, and important accessions to the strength of the army, by the return of the sick and wounded from the hospitals, were of continual recurrence. Towards the end of March, 30,000 fresh troops, including the remainder of the Russian guard, arrived to the army, under the Grand-Duke Constantine, with several batteries of light artillery. A powerful reserve, drawn from the dépôts in the interior of the Empire, amounting to another reinforcement of 30,000, was also advancing under Prince Labanoff, but these were too distant to be expected to come into line before the end of June. The whole army under Benningsen at this period comprised 118,000 men, veterans inured to war, and animated by the spirit of the past campaign, and by the presence of the Emperor and King.

Benningsen's head-quarters were at Arensdorff, where he had under his immediate command three divisions and the light cavalry. Two divisions, under Lieutenant-General Doctorow, lay at Neuhof; Gortschakow, with his corps, was at Kaphausen; and those of Platow and Knoving were in the vicinity of Bergfried. The guard under the Grand-Duke Constantine was advanced to Launau; Kamenskoi was in reserve; the Prussians were at Nehrung. The French army is said to have been increased at this juncture, from various causes, to 170,000 fighting men of all arms, excellently well supplied and fitted for the field; but this probably included the immense reinforcements which were in march to join it. Marshal Brune was coming up with 15,000 men, drawn from Holland and the Hanse Towns; there were 14,000 Spaniards marching towards the Elbe from the Pyrenees, and the divisions Boudet and Molitor had already entered Germany. Had it been necessary, there were, moreover, about 15,000 Würtemberg troops now idle in Silesia, and 10,000 could be well spared out of the German garrisons. The first corps was in the field, under the command of the Prince Marshal, at Braunsberg and Spanden, behind the Passargo; Soult's corps was in the neighbourhood of Liebstadt; Ney's corps at Guttstadt, with an advance beyond the Passargo at Wolfersdorff; Davoust's corps was at Allenstien; Lannes at Osterode; and Mortier was on march from the Lower Vistula to join the army. The head-quarters of Napoleon, with the Imperial guard, were at Finkenstein. The cavalry, under the Grand-Duke of Berg, were in cantonments between the rivers Passargo and Vistula. On the extreme right, upon the Narew, the corps under Marshal Massena observed General Tutschakow, who had succeeded Van Essen, with about an equal force.

#### 12. RESUMPTION OF HOSTILITIES BY THE ARMIES.

It might have been thought extraordinary that Benningsen should have refrained from any attack on the French army during the siege of Dantzig, and should have advanced for the purpose when his adversary had no other operation on his hands; but in a Council of War, held at Bartenstein, it was considered that, as the French line of cantonments extended considerably from Braunsberg to

Guttstadt, it might be possible to fall with effect upon Ney, who was the most advanced, and, by driving a strong mass of troops across the Passargo into his rear, the two extreme wings of the French army would thus be separated. On the morning of the 5th of June, accordingly, the whole allied army was set in motion for the execution of this well-conceived enterprise. The Russian army was divided into seven divisions, and directed upon the same number of points of the French line. The two divisions under Doctorow moved upon Olbersdoff against the outposts of the French on the right bank of the Passargo. The second column, of three divisions with cavalry, commanded by Baron Sacken, marched against Ney's advanced post at Wolfersdorff. The third column, under Prince Bagration, advanced from Launau, with a view of diverting the attention of the enemy from the principal attack. The fourth column, under Prince Gortschakow; and the fifth, under the Hetman Platow, were to cross the Alle and fall upon the French troops at Guttstadt, Bergfried, and Allerstein. The sixth column, under the Grand-Duke Constantine, was to take up a position in reserve at Petersdorff, in front of Wolfersdorff; and the seventh, under General Rembow, was to attack the *tête du pont* which the Prince of Ponte-Corvo had established at Spanden. At the extreme right of the Russian line, General Lestocq, with the Prussian corps, was to make a false attack on Braunsberg; and on the extreme left, General Tutschakow established a chain of Cossacks from Ostrolenka, to cooperate with Platow's division in concealing the movement in advance as much as possible from Massena's observation, and to cut off his communications.

Lestocq, from some mistake or other, made his false attack on Braunsberg on the 3rd of June, before the real attack could be organised, and alarmed Bernadotte, so as to make him suspect a forward movement of the enemy. The country between the Vistula and the Pregel is, however, so covered with forests and lakes, without any high roads, that the movements of hostile troops across it could not be well watched; but Napoleon, with that wonderful prescience which accompanied his command everywhere, had so echeloned his divisions in their cantonments, and had so imperatively enjoined that every division should protect their approach by épaulements of earth and by abattis, that the most ordinary vigilance was sufficient to protect them from surprise, and they could at any time be supported from one side or the other before it would be necessary for them to give way against any attack from the enemy. At 6 in the morning of the 5th, therefore, Doctorow, debouching from the forest of Wormditt, presented himself on the banks of the Passargo, before Lomitten, and commenced an attack, covered by Cossacks. The outposts having retired before the Russian advance, a bloody fight ensued with Soult's corps from behind their works and abattis in the forest. The Russians, however, attacked in force, and, during the fight, made several demonstrations to pass the Passargo. A strong body of cavalry, indeed, did cross it by a ford below the destroyed bridge of Spartinau. The Russians endeavoured to restore

the bridge, but it was set on fire by the light infantry under General Viviez. They then endeavoured to force the bridge of Lomitten, but without success. Soult now opened 12 guns, which were so well served under Major Degennes, that they soon obtained a superiority of fire over the numerous artillery of Doctorow. The Russian General, knowing that his movement was secondary to the grand attack to be made upon Ney, and finding it impossible to force the bridges, now changed the direction of his offensive by an attack upon Kalchstein; but Soult observing his design, ordered General Carré St. Cry to withdraw his division from behind the abattis in the woods of Lomitten, and to resist every attempt to cross the river. The fight, nevertheless, lasted till near 8 at night, when Doctorow, finding himself unable to force a passage at any point, withdrew to Olbersdorff, sending two divisions to Guttstadt to support the right attack. This affair at Lomitten cost a great deal of blood on both sides, the aggregate of which was 1000 killed and 3000 wounded.

It was near 9 o'clock when the attack was made upon the bridge across the Passargo, at Spanden, which General Frère defended. General Lestocq commenced with a two hours' cannonade, and then ordered the assault. The Prince Marshal directed General Lapisse and General Girard to move upon the rear of the enemy, and was in the act of making his dispositions for the repulse of the Prussians, when he was struck by a musket-ball, which made him reel in the saddle and quit the field, but not before he had directed his Chief of the Staff, General Maison, to advance General Villette to the support of Frère. This Russian assault was, therefore, vigorously opposed, and the movements ordered in flank and rear had the effect expected from them, for the assailants were obliged to fall back in great confusion, and with some 700 casualties.

But the principal point to which Benningsen directed his movement was upon the corps of Marshal Ney, at Guttstadt. The Prince Bagration led his column upon Altkirch, where General Marchand received the attack with his division, who, however, retired before the Russian advance; but Baron Sacken's division, which was to have supported Bagration on the right, did not come up for two hours, during which Ney discovered that he was opposed to very superior numbers, and took advantage of the delay in the concentration of his antagonist's preparations to retire in perfect order upon Ankersdorff, although, in his retreat, his baggage, with General Roger, and two guns, fell into the hands of the enemy. Bagration continued his advance on the 6th, and came up with the French rear-guard at Heiligenthal, but Ney, with all his wonted courage and firmness, so imposed upon his adversary, that he obtained time for his whole force to defile along the bridge of Deppen, and took up his position behind it, on the left bank of the Passargo. The Prince Bagration now occupied the right bank of the stream, with his own division and that of Gortschakow, and here he was joined by the two divisions sent to him by Doctorow. Benningsen, however, had entirely missed his object; he had failed either to envelop or cut off any portion of the French army, and he now

delivered over his forces to the command of the Grand-Duke Constantine, while he fell back on Guttstadt, to take counsel with his sovereign. After counsel taken, it was then determined to withdraw from the Passargo to the heights about Quitz, and the headquarters of the army were established on the 7th at Glottau.

Napoleon first heard of the Russian attack at Finkenstein on the night of the 5th, and on the 6th, brought forward his headquarters to Saalfeld; but, on his arrival there, he heard of the result of the movements, and of the failure of the Russian attack on every point, and judging that they were in some hesitation as to their future course, he sent orders to Marshal Soult and to General Victor, who had succeeded Bernadotte in the command of the first corps, to push forward strong reconnoissances from Wolferndorf and Spanden while he himself repaired the same day to Deppen, and now finding, on the morning of the 8th, that the Russians were in retreat, he determined to assume the offensive. Soult advanced General Guyot with the light cavalry, in conjunction with General Legrand, who marched with his division on Wolferndorf, to observe the enemy's movements, but the cavalry general got involved with the Russians in the village of Kleinesfeld, where his troops were nearly surrounded by Havoiski's horse, and, in the endeavour to cut his way through, the General himself, with many officers and men, were killed, and many were made prisoners. Soult's advance, however, hastened the Russian retreat to their old position in the entrenched camp at Heilsberg; but the column of Gortschakow still occupied in force, with guns, the defile of Launau, and the Russian Guard took up the ground in front of Guttstadt, between the roads leading to Altkirk and Neuerdorf.

Napoleon crossed the Passargo at Deppen, with the corps of Ney and Lannes, and all the cavalry of the Grand-Duke of Berg; and Davoust the same day crossed at Haaserberg. Benningsen, seeing that the advancing masses gave the enemy a decided superiority, ordered Gortschakow to fall back on Beverniken, and Platow with 3000 Cossacks to cover his retreat. Soult and Davoust were directed to attack the enemy, and General St. Hilaire was immediately ordered forward with General Legrand's division on the second line, and the dragoons under General Latour-Mauberg were marched on Dietrichsdorff. The troops which St. Hilaire now found before him, were a detached force under General Kamenskoi, of about 8000 Russian infantry and 2500 Prussian cavalry, who had missed their way and were surprised to find an enemy in their path. They were, accordingly, soon driven back, and fled to Wormditt, with the loss of 500 or 600 men.

Soult steadily marched forward on Guttstadt, whither Prince Bagration was moving to cross the Alle, on his march to Heilsberg. The Prince halted, and showed front at Glottau, until he could get his corps across the river, over which he had thrown four bridges. This was successfully accomplished, notwithstanding that Murat, who was close on Bagration's heels, continued harassing attacks upon the Russian dragoons, by the brigades of light cavalry of

Pajol, Bruyères, and Durosnet, under General Lasalle, and the heavy horse under Nansouty. In these engagements the Russians lost many men, but the Grand-Duke of Berg succeeded in establishing his head-quarters at Guttstadt at 8 on the same night, and Bagration entered the entrenched camp, where he found Gortschakow had arrived before him. On the left, Platow, who had also crossed the Alle, covering the retreat of the army, with characteristic coolness dismounted from his horse, and led his Cossacks forward on foot, in order to inspire them with confidence; and he so deceived his pursuers by the successive marches and countermarches of detachments, that he received no serious molestation.

An anecdote is recorded of a French officer, who was taken prisoner in this retreat by the Cossacks, having saved his life by giving the freemason's sign. This is known to have happened very frequently in war, and even, when it has not had an advantage to that extent, it has often been known to have obtained better treatment for soldiers in captivity.

### 13. BATTLE OF HEILSBERG.

Napoleon had now an opportunity of evincing one of his most characteristic qualities. He knew that Austria was desirous of turning against him, and he therefore resolved to strike sharp and strong when the chances of the campaign appeared to be turning in his favour. He had, besides, two objects to attain: first, to drive the Russians out of their camp at Heilsberg; and secondly, to get possession of Königsberg, rich in supplies for his army, the last shred of the Prussian kingdom, and the only remaining dépôt of Prussian commerce. Benningsen had withdrawn his whole army within their redoubts, on the right bank of the Alle. Napoleon hesitated, however, whether to follow the Russians to their strong camp; or, by marching up the right bank of the Alle, to Bishopstein and Bartenstein, to turn it by its left, and to cast the enemy upon the shores of the Baltic; or, on the other side, to risk a movement for turning their right, by marching a strong force of 50,000 men, between them and the sea, while with his principal force he attacked the entrenched camp. In the end he resolved on this latter expedient, and set his army in motion along the left bank of the Alle, on the 10th. The town of Heilsberg is situated in a remarkable bend of the river, surrounded with heights on both banks, on which numberless redoubts had been constructed; and four bridges, within range of their fire, effected a ready communication between the camps on the two sides of the river. That on the right bank was now occupied by the Russian Imperial Guard, and the division of Bagration, under the command of the Grand-Duke Constantine. The remainder of the army occupied two lines on the opposite bank; the first deployed, and the second in column, both under the protection of three strong redoubts, well armed with guns, 205 squadrons of cavalry, as well Russian as Prussian, were formed *en potence*, on the extreme right. Kamenskoi was placed in command of the right, and Gortschakow in the centre of this

position. The woods along the entire front and both flanks were filled with riflemen, and the Cossacks extended their observation all around. The Russian advanced-guard was called in from Launau and other villages, and massed in the defile of Bevernicken, through which the road to Heilsberg leads from the side of the Alle, on which the French advanced. This post, at the moment of attack, was strengthened by some troops from the right camp, accompanied by Prince Bagration, who took the command of the defile. A strong cavalry force, under General Uwarow, was also placed under his command.

Upon the first approach of the force under the Grand-Duke of Berg, at 7 in the evening, the Russian divisions of Barasdin and Lvow were withdrawn across the defile, and placed in position for its defence, and a strong battery on a hill running down to the Alle crushed the French infantry as they debouched to the attack. Soult immediately ordered General Dulahoy to place 36 guns in battery on his side of the pass, which soon silenced the Russian battery, and covered the deployment of the division of General Carra St. Cyr, as it advanced to the attack. The division of General Legrand was directed to move on the left, upon the village of Lawden, to favour this operation. The cavalry of Murat, proceeding in its course to the village of Langviese, with the same object, came suddenly upon Uwarow's horse, and charged them; nevertheless they broke and fled, until the light brigade of Guyot met them and turned them back. During this time Soult, with the divisions St. Cyr and St. Hilaire, drove back Bagration across a small stream which intersected the road leading to the town, and followed them under the very guns of the entrenched camp. Legrand was attacked at Lawden by the Russian cavalry, but, at the very "nick of time," General Savary, to whom Napoleon had intrusted a brigade of the fusiliers of the Guard, with 12 guns, arrived to his support, and a serious contest ensued, in which the General of Brigade, Roussel, was killed. A reinforcement from St. Hilaire's division enabled the French, nevertheless, to occupy and hold the wood of Lawden. Bagration retired in good order, along the high road, before these reiterated attacks of Soult, covering his retreat by Uwarow's cavalry, who lost their General, Koschen, in the conflict; and now crossing the river by the bridge of Amt-Hielberg, he formed up, and rested his troops in the Grand-Duke's camp.

General Legrand, under the cover of the wood on his left, now assaulted the principal Russian redoubt, and carried it with the leading regiment under Colonel Pouget; but Benningsen brought up the regiment of Kalonga, under General Warnech, and drove out the French regiment. Another regiment, under Colonel Perrier, arrived in support, but was also driven back with the loss of their Colonel, and the two Chefs de Bataillon, Chastener and Robillard, were wounded. The Russian cavalry, in reserve, coming up however at the moment, fell upon both flanks of the divisions of Legrand and St. Hilaire, and drove them back over the open ground, with the loss of an Eagle. Marshal Soult, now assuming the command,

ordered the division to form square, checkerwise, and many a saddle was emptied by the cross fire. The French were thus enabled to hold their ground till nightfall, when the reserve, under Ney and Lannes, together with the Emperor himself, arrived on the field. A fresh endeavour to carry the redoubts was now made, but all the attempts of General Verdier to get into the Russian entrenchments failed, and the Emperor ordered the troops, at 9 at night, to bivouac on the heights behind the village of Lawden.

The contest had been sternly disputed, and the loss, on both sides, was very considerable, not only in rank and file, but in officers and generals. Fifteen generals, French and Russian, were among the killed and wounded, and no less than 250 inferior officers were among the former, in Marshal Soult's corps alone. The night was passed by both armies on the field, and the next morning was occupied, on each side, by the sad duties required by the killed and wounded, which are said to have amounted to 18,000 men. General Benningsen bivouacked in his cloak in the camp, for he had received information of a movement of the enemy on Landsberg and Eylau. A vigorous general would, probably, have immediately marched against this rather rash operation of Napoleon's, and crushed the columns in the corner, between the Lower Prezel and the sea, but Benningsen had the especial infirmity of trembling for his communications, and, as soon as he was informed that Marshal Davoust was marching on his right flank towards Königsberg, he, notwithstanding his success, commenced preparations for a retreat, on the afternoon of the 11th. Accordingly, sending his cavalry forward to disturb the enemy, and opening his batteries on the division of St. Cyr, which was immediately within reach, he quietly withdrew the troops, under the Grand-Duke Constantine, from the town of Heilsberg, and ordered them to march away along the right bank of the river on Friedland, by Bartenstein. So that by nightfall, the entrenched camp was entirely evacuated, all the divisions were brought across the river, the bridges were set on fire, and by daybreak on the 12th, the whole Russian army was in full march by the same road. As soon as Napoleon discovered this, he moved his entire army along the left bank of the river towards Landsberg and Preuss-Eylau, while he himself entered and took possession of the camp at Heilsberg, where he found considerable magazines. The Imperial head-quarters were established on the battle-field of Preuss-Eylau. The allied sovereigns rested at Tilsit during the action of the 10th, and, as soon as the battle terminated, the Grand-Duke repaired there to report the issue to the Czar.

General Victor, immediately he heard of the battle, debouched across the bridge of Spanden upon Möhlsach, and Lestocq fell back along the Frisch-Haff into the capital of East Prussia. Kamenskoi was also directed by Benningsen to march upon Königsberg, but, on reaching Mühlhausen, he found the troops of Davoust there before him; he, nevertheless, succeeded in reaching the object of his destination by making a *détour*. When, on the 13th, the Russian army reached Schippenbeil, Benningsen heard that some of the

French troops were already approaching Domnau, and, therefore, between the Russian army and Königsberg.

#### 14. BATTLE OF FRIEDLAND.

On the night of the 13th, therefore, he hastened to place his headquarters at Friedland. General Kollogrubow was already in position there with 33 squadrons and 18 guns, and, having secured the bridges over the Alle, had pushed forward to the occupation of Posthenen and Heinrichsdorf, on the high roads to Königsberg and Domnau. A regiment of French cavalry, expedited by Marshal Lannes, venturing to reconnoitre this force, were instantly charged and driven back, so that they only gained the village of Georgenau with difficulty. The Russian army arrived during the night of the 13th-14th in successive detachments, which, crossing the Alle, took up their position on the high ground above the river, which here flows between steep and narrow banks. When it was reported to Benningsen that the French troops had been driven back by his outposts, from the side of Domnau, he conceived the idea that there could not be on that road more of the enemy than the single corps of Marshal Lannes; and, therefore, quickly resolved to attack it, in the hopes of thus destroying, in detail, the scattered troops of Napoleon, and forcing his way to Königsberg.

During the midsummer months there is scarcely any night in these northern latitudes, and, accordingly, the arrival of the Russians in position, in the midst of the night, and their readiness to go forward at once to an attack, without resting (which would appear scarcely credible without this consideration), may, in some measure, account for the vigour of Benningsen's resolve, and the execution of his scheme at 2 in the morning of the 14th. No sooner, however, was the Russian advance descried by the videntes of Lannes' corps, than his entire force of 12,000 infantry and 3000 horse were formed up to receive the attack. The single Russian division, which had, at first, been passed over, being, therefore, found insufficient against such numbers, other troops were sent across the Alle, and three pontoon bridges were hastily constructed to facilitate their passage, so that the attack became threatening. Napoleon was at Domnau, ten miles distant from Friedland, but, immediately he heard from Lannes that he was attacked, he came to the front, and, observing the continual passing of troops across the bridges, he forthwith ordered up Mortier to the support of Lannes, and directed his guard, and all the troops within reach, to march in the direction of Friedland. The experienced Captain saw with astonishing quickness the advantage which he thought he could derive from the indiscretion of his adversary, in quitting the ridge position above the Alle, to give battle with the river in his rear, and immediately sat down to write a remarkable letter to the Grand-Duke of Berg, to the effect that his troops having, as the Emperor hoped, already taken possession of Königsberg, he was to leave Soult and Davoust for the defence of that town, and hasten with all his cavalry up the

banks of the Alle towards Friedland, where he looked to see him arrive within 24 hours; and that, if the battle in which he was about to engage should last so long, he would, if possible, resolve it into a cannonade, in order to await his arrival.

Napoleon remarked to those around him, when he saw that a battle was inevitable—"Tant mieux, c'est un jour de bonheur, c'est l'anniversaire de Marengo." The Russian batteries opened a heavy fire upon Oudinot's division as it deployed into line, and Lannes appeared to be in a perilous position, contending, with about 27,000 men, against almost the entire army of Benningsen. The Cossacks were in force at Heinrichsdorf, covering, as with a cloud, the advance of both infantry and cannon. It was 7 in the morning when the Marshal sent Grouchy, with the grenadiers of Albert, to check this advance; and, happily, at the same moment, the cuirassiers of Nansouty, and the division of Dupas (the advance of Mortier) arrived between Heinrichsdorf and Porthenen. A severe action ensued, in which 4 guns were taken. Lannes, now strengthened on his left, advanced Ondinot towards the wood of Sorthack on his right, and showed fight. Benningsen drew up his whole army, as the divisions successively arrived, across the high roads leading from Porthenen and Heinrichsdorf, about half a mile in front of the town of Friedland. A mill-stream, flowing in a perpendicular direction, nearly cut it into two equal parts. After reconnoitring the ground, Napoleon determined on a dashing but hazardous manœuvre. From the heights above Heinrichsdorf he could see right into the town of Friedland, which is placed upon an elbow of the Alle, of which the re-entering angle faced the French position, the space enclosed by the river being subdivided and narrowed by the aforesaid mill-stream, of which the road of entrance from Domnau ran across the head. He therefore thought it possible to force his way into this small peninsula, and hold it by this narrow access against the entire Russian line, the portion of which that faced Heinrichsdorf having no power of retreating from where they stood, except by passing over this mill-pond head, and through the town to the bridges. In order the more effectually to attain his object, he determined to employ Ney to conduct this operation, whose lion-like character best suited his purpose, while the rest of the troops made every demonstration of attack, but without compromising themselves in any way, in order that Benningsen might be kept from sending down reinforcements to the town, for he calculated much upon their holding a good countenance against the Russian main line. The scheme was, like the mind that engendered it, simple and daring, but, probably, according to no rule of strategy. However, in war everything depends on the readiest mode of rendering available the peculiar character of the ground which forms the position of the enemy. During the first partial combat, the several corps of the French army had come and taken up their ground, according to the Emperor's disposition; and, at 5 in the afternoon, he reiterated his orders that the left should rest firm, but that the right wing should be ready to move forward to the attack on the firing of

20 guns from the battery in the place where he stood, but this was to be governed entirely by the progress of Ney. Napoleon had previously sent for the Marshal to receive his instructions in person, and had, with much familiarity, said to him: "Pénétrez en Friedland quoiqu'il puisse vous en coûter, prenez les ponts et ne vous inquiétez pas de ce qui pourra se passer à droite, à gauche, ou sur vos derrières. L'armée et moi, nous sommes là pour y veiller." Marshal Victor, on hearing the signal, sent forward immediately the divisions of Marchand and Bisson, who were soon engaged in deadly conflict with the enemy, and when the Russians perceived that they were debouching from the wood of Sortlack, they launched several regiments of cavalry upon them, accompanied by a horde of Cossacks. The Russian cavalry charged the head of Marchand's division as it came *en échelon* out of the wood. Ney left to Latour-Maubourg to restrain this Russian charge, while he pushed on, *tête baissée*, at the head of his *corps-d'armée*, to enter Friedland by the road. The Russians fled before him like chaff before the wind, and some militia, who happened to be stationed in the way, broke their ranks at sight of his glittering steel, and, spreading confusion and alarm, ran towards the bridges. The Russian guns thundered upon Ney's column from the opposite bank of the Alle, levelling entire files of the division Bisson, and, presently, the Russian horse-guards, commanded by General Kollogrubow, fell on the head of the column, and drove it back; but General Dupont was soon up with his division in support, and, resting his left on the mill-pond, stood firm, and gave time to Bisson to rally his men. Ney opened the few guns he had with him upon the batteries that so plagued him, and Napoleon sent down, with all speed, General Senarmont with all the guns he could collect, and these, by their number and precision, soon silenced the enemy's batteries. Friend and foe were now huddled in the narrow gorge at the town gates in fearful strife, and Senarmont energetically shelled the enemy as they fled through the town and across the bridges.

The orders of Napoleon to his centre and left wing not to engage the enemy on that side, kept the whole of the Russian right wing unengaged in their position, and prevented any succour being despatched, until the object was discovered, when Prince Bagration was, at length, sent down, and a terrible contest was carried on in the streets, where 60,000 men fought with the energy of despair. The Prince animated by his presence the exertions of his troops, while he shared all their danger; but, being at length overborne by Ney, he passed the bridges, and ordered them to be burned, in order to restrain the French pursuit. Prince Gortschakow, who was on the hills opposite to Heinrichsdorf, under the pressure of a dreadful cannonade, which had occupied all his attention, now saw the flames rising out of Friedland, and immediately, judging the consequences, placed himself at the head of his troops, and, rushing down into the town, turned the tide for a moment against Ney, until Dupont came up to his assistance. The carnage was then renewed, and became most bloody, for the destruction of the bridges rendered all passage out of the town impossible, and the only remaining ingress or egress

was by the narrow head of the mill-pond. Many of the Russian troops, rather than surrender their arms, threw themselves into the water, and perished. Benningsen does not appear to have been aware of the danger of the occupation of the town by the enemy until too late; but, suddenly discovering that his army was left without any line of retreat, he sent officers, in great haste, to search for a ford across the Alle, by which he at once crossed his artillery, and sent down two divisions of Gortschakow's corps to hold the high ground commanding Friedland. At the same time, General Korsakow, with the right wing of the army, was ordered to attack the division of Oudinot and Vervier, but Marshal Mortier had already advanced against the Russian right, who now had sufficient difficulty to keep back the French attack. The General, nevertheless, hastened the march of the Russian infantry, who retired with a good countenance, and 22 squadrons were formed on the right to cover the retreat. Nothing could equal the coolness and discipline of the Russian army as they made their escape from this ill-starred field. With heroic courage they held their ground, no single battalion dreaming of surrender. In the midst of prodigious slaughter, they plunged into the stream breast high, and, though many missed the fords and were drowned, few prisoners fell into the hands of the enemy.

As soon as Napoleon saw Friedland in the possession of his troops, and the bridges across the Alle destroyed, he ordered his left to advance against the Russian right, and Lannes and Mortier, having fulfilled their task of keeping the enemy inactive, now fell upon it, in its hasty retreat, with all their might. The unhappy Benningsen himself conducted his army on the road to Allenberg, but left behind him 80 guns and 10,000 prisoners, with 15,000 killed or wounded on the field of battle. The remainder fled in hot haste to Wehlau, where they crossed the Pregel on the 15th, and made the best of their way to Tilsit. As soon as the troops under Kamenskoi and Lestocq heard the result of the battle of Friedland, they abandoned Königsberg to its fate, and also marched on Tilsit, so that Soult entered Königsberg on the 16th without further opposition.

The battle was not terminated till 10:30 at night, and Napoleon, in all his long career of glory, had never been more completely successful. The French army rested on the field of battle, and the Emperor also bivouacked there in the midst of his guard. His loss was estimated at 7000 or 8000 killed and wounded, among whom were 7 general officers. Immediate orders were given for the repair of the bridges across the Alle, and next morning the whole French army followed the flying enemy in every direction. The Imperial headquarters were transferred to Wehlau. Napoleon, however, never quitted a field without riding over it to learn the condition of the wounded, and to order that proper care should be taken of them, while, with all the bounty of victory, he lavished upon them every species of recompense that pensions or decorations could bestow. It was a proud moment for a victorious general; for, as he surveyed the battle-field, he could reflect how effectually he had manoeuvred to cut off the Russians from Königsberg, and how fortunate had

been his fate to find the enemy's army so indiscreetly posted, with the Alle in their rear; while the glorious success of the bold rush that he had made to occupy the town and bridges must have filled his heart with a delight that is scarcely conceivable. In effect, the Emperor Napoleon had at this present moment attained the culminating point of his wonderful career of glory.

On the 19th, Murat, with the light cavalry, coming up rapidly, in obedience to the Emperor's despatch, penetrated to the banks of the Niemen, where he heard that another Russian army was already prepared to resist all further progress; but, about mid-day, a flag of truce presented itself at the outposts, and delivered to the Grand-Duke of Berg a proposition, on the part of General Benningsen, for an armistice between the contending armies, which Murat immediately transmitted to the Emperor, who, in the course of a few hours, arrived himself at Tilsit. Napoleon was too well aware of the dangers which accrued to his power, even in the midst of victory, at such a distance from his capital, not to feel joy at this opportunity of concluding a campaign, of such duration and so many privations, with so much honour and glory; he therefore replied that he consented to an armistice with the view to a sure and permanent peace. The Prince Labanow crossed the Niemen the same afternoon, and had an audience with the Prince de Neufchâtel on the terms of an armistice, which was agreed upon and signed on the 21st, and was ratified on the 22nd, when Napoleon addressed a proclamation to his army, "That, having celebrated at Austerlitz the day of his coronation, they had now celebrated the anniversary of Marengo by a victory which terminated the war." While the troops rested in the cantonments designated by the armistice, Napoleon proposed to the Emperor Alexander to have a personal meeting, without the intervention of plenipotentiaries, in order to determine for themselves the conditions of a treaty of peace.

#### 15. THE RAFT AT TILSIT.

This interview did, in fact, take place on the 25th; and the Raft of Tilsit will be ever memorable, both for what was derived from it and for its many shortcomings. There was, it must be confessed, something inexpressibly grand in the interview, reminding one of a play in Shakspeare, where kings meet and talk together on high affairs of state in friendly chat or angry rating, and one wonders whether such deliberations are always carried on in blank verse. By order of Napoleon, a long raft had been constructed and moored in the middle of the Niemen, by the chief of artillery, General Lariboissière. Upon its surface stood a considerable wooden building of three apartments. Two waiting-rooms, or porches of entrance, conducted to a considerable saloon, well covered from the weather, and decorated with all the taste that might have been expected from Paris workmen. It was surmounted by the two eagles of the Emperors of France and Russia. The Imperial guards of both sovereigns were drawn up, each on its respective river bank.

At 1 o'clock the French Emperor, accompanied by the Grand-Duke of Berg, the Prince of Neuchâtel, Bessières, Duroc, and Caulincourt, stepped into his boat, which was rowed by the marines of his Guard; and, at the same moment, the Czar, attended by the Grand-Duke Constantine and Generals Benningsen, Labanow, Uwarow, and Count Lieven, entered his boat, so that both sovereigns arrived at the raft nearly at the same instant. Napoleon first opened the door into the saloon, and advanced with open hand to meet and embrace Alexander. It was, perhaps, not unreasonable that, under the mortification of recent defeat, the humbled Czar did really feel the grudge against Great Britain that he at once gave vent to; or he may have volunteered the expression of it to please the conqueror. Napoleon, however, immediately rejoined : "Dans ce cas la paix est faite : pourquoi nous faisons nous la guerre ?" Although a celebrated French historian has undertaken to give in detail an account of what passed between the two Emperors at this celebrated interview, it is not necessary to believe that any very great political wisdom was enunciated between two men who were both of them mere soldiers, just arrived from a bloody contest, and neither of them very weighty statesmen. It was natural enough that the appetite of a great success should have to be satisfied on the one hand, and the conviction of the hopelessness of all further contest in the battle-field be soothed on the other : the one to demand whatever he chose, and the other to concede all that, in moderation, might be demanded of him. The young Russian was, doubtless, flattered by the courtesies of the wily Corsican; and the imaginary empires which they were to obtain over a prostrate world by their firm union was a sugar plum to the fallen Czar, while the conqueror only insisted, as a necessity to both, that England should be the common enemy.

Looking back, at the distance of half a century, to the celebrated Congress of Sovereigns which followed this interview, for the King and Queen of Prussia assisted at its later meetings, it is impossible not to question whether Napoleon had ever really conceived any very high or sound political views—whether military success was to him the be-all and end-all of war; or whether he had the ability to form or entertain any grand idea for the regeneration of Europe? Political economy, or the wealth of nations, had, probably, never been the serious study of a man to whom the art of war was the one engrossing subject. To be a conqueror like Nimrod or Nebuchadnezzar, or, like Alexander the Great, to overrun the world, " sighing for new worlds to conquer," is, after all, but a very vulgar ambition, which the experience of ages has shown to be entirely without root or permanence. Nothing had hitherto been able to stay the triumphs of Napoleon, for he had fought his way from Montenotte to Friedland without a check. What, then, did he further require to make himself more than the greatest military conqueror in history ; or what advantage did he wish that France should gain under his hand for the benefit of herself, more than she had long since obtained ? Let anyone read all that M. Thiers vouches to have passed upon the raft at Tilsit, and adduce, if he can, the slightest evidence that the conver-

sation of the two mightiest sovereigns of Europe touched upon any topic of which it might be justly and reasonably asserted that it was worthy of the occasion, of the meeting of monarchs ruling over millions, or that evinced they had any other object than power and aggrandisement for themselves. After a fortnight of conferences, two treaties were concluded — the one between France and Russia on the 7th of July, and the other between France and Prussia on the 9th. By these, Poland was partially resuscitated into the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw, but not rendered an independent state; while the whole of Northern Germany, to be called the Kingdom of Westphalia, was assigned to Jerome Bonaparte; nevertheless, both one and the other were to remain fiefs of Napoleon's Empire, so that the world benefited nothing by the arrangement. The kingdom of Prussia was also restored to Frederick William, but this from no higher motive than as a mark of the French Emperor's regard for the Emperor of Russia. The Czar kept his dominions intact, but was called upon to withdraw his troops from Wallachia and Moldavia, and to conclude his differences with Turkey, although he was flattered by the hope, always nearest the Muscovite heart, "that the high contracting parties would unite their efforts to wrest from the vexatious and oppressive government of the Turks all its provinces in Europe." There was something like a Christian principle involved in the covenant, to drive the Moslem out of Europe; and there was something like a principle of freedom promulgated in the further stipulation, that a peace with England should only be concluded by united Europe, "on condition that the flags of every Power should enjoy a perfect and entire equality on every sea;" but the motive of either clause may be suspected.

What wonderful results might not have emanated from the Raft of Tilsit! Perhaps, in the whole history of the world, there had never existed such an opportunity for an exercise of absolute power for the benefit of mankind. All the foundations of the great deep, social and political, had been broken up by the outburst of the French Revolution; the territories of Princes and Potentates lay prostrate in every direction; and their peoples had too much suffered by wars and contributions to be induced to raise a finger for, or against any result. After three of the most decisive victories ever gained by one man within four months, Napoleon saw the European Continent at his disposal, and, if he had possessed as much talent for the re-construction of kingdoms as he evinced at all times for the re-assembling of armies, he might at this juncture have called into existence as many empires as there were nationalities and languages, or have re-modelled the map of Europe in a manner that might have promised some permanence. His word might have constituted a new State, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, of all the (so called) Slavonic provinces, and Austria might have obtained in exchange for her German dominions a much more extensive and compact Empire, by being placed at the head of these hereditary possessions. Germany might have been reconstituted, from Copenhagen to the Alps, with Dresden for her capital, and a Saxon or

some other of her Princes might have been found to govern it. Italy might have been united with all the islands of the Mediterranean into one grand mercantile community ; and Rome was at this time free enough from her Papal Lord to be made her capital. Scandinavia and Greece might have been formed into kingdoms. The absorption of small and isolated governments, which have no strength in themselves, would have offered the only real security for the repose of the world. These in their isolation always necessarily form objects of desire to the powerful, and their existence as states depends on the favour of the mighty. Had Naples and Portugal been real sovereignties, not even Napoleon would have dared to decree that the houses of Bourbon and Braganza had ceased to reign ; and had Denmark been a real Power, with corresponding military means, it would not have been possible for Great Britain to fit out an expedition against her for the mere purpose of securing her fleet against France ; she would have been rather forced into negotiations for that object. At this moment, Prussia could gainsay nothing, and Britain would have readily agreed to any arrangements that might have given reasonable hopes of terminating a state of war of which she was weary, nor would she have opposed herself to the perfect freedom of every flag in every sea ; while, as Protector of the new Confederation of Europe, Napoleon Bonaparte would have established his throne, and escaped the subsequent mortification of his decline.

#### 16. REVOLUTIONS AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

We must now retrace our steps a little to relate that the Russian Emperor, after the doubtful and well-contested fields of Golymin and Pultusk, had become fully sensible of the necessity of increasing the force opposed to Napoleon in the north, so that early in February he had ordered four divisions of the army in Moldavia to be marched up to strengthen the corps of General Essen, then posted near Ostrolenka. But the Turks were, at the same time, so crippled by Sultan Selim's military reforms, and by the revolts of the Pacha of Widdin and Czerny Georges, that they had retreated before the invading army of Michelson, and crossing the Danube abandoned entirely the Principalities, and prepared to defend the line of fortresses on that river, which were supposed to be in a good state of defence. On the 17th of March the Russian army laid siege to Giurjevo, but the desperate defence of the Turkish garrison prolonged the siege for some months, and checked the further advance of Michelson towards the Balkan. The progress of the Servian revolt was now become a source of great anxiety, amidst the complicated difficulties of the Porte at this juncture. Muchtan Pacha, the son of the Pacha of Janina, had been ordered to march against the rebels at the head of 8000 Albanians, and to devote the whole nation of the Servians to death or slavery, without distinction of age or sex ; and, in order to carry out this savage decree, the Grand Vizier, at the head of an immense but most disorderly army, advanced from Adrianople. On the 8th of May, however,

when on this march, a mutiny broke out among the troops, and Hussein Effendi, the Commissary-General and Cadi Pacha of Conia, who was exerting himself to restore some discipline in the army, was massacred in the affray. A new military force had been instituted by Sultan Selim, called, from the name of the firman authorising it, "The Nizammi Geddid," which was intended to form a considerable corps, disciplined after the European fashion, for the purpose of checking in some measure the tyranny of the Janissaries over their sovereign. In a conflict which occurred in 1805, the Janissaries had been worsted by this corps, and accordingly bore an irreconcilable animosity against the Nizammi Geddidites. The Sultan, following up the blow, issued a new hatti scherif establishing the conscription throughout the Empire, the consequence of which was a fresh outbreak, before which the Nizammi Geddidites quailed and had been driven out of Adrianople. During the dangers which threatened the capital from the presence of Duckworth's fleet and the invasion of the Russians, the rivalry of these two armed bodies had, for the moment, ceased; but an unfounded rumour had arisen at Constantinople that advantage of the absence of the main body of the Janissaries, then marching with the army of the Grand-Vizier against the Servians, was to be taken to place the forts of the Dardanelles, now strengthened by French engineers, entirely in the hands of the new soldiery. Accordingly, the Ulemas and the Janissaries remaining in the capital had a meeting in the last days of May, at the place of El-Meidan, when it was resolved that Sultan Selim should be deposed, and that his nephew Mustapha should rule in his stead; and they grounded this decision upon a law of Mahomet, that a Sultan loses his right to the throne if, in the course of seven years after his accession, he has no children. Now, not only was this the case with Selim, but it was well known he could never have any. The Janissaries at Burgahdere, consequently, rose on the 1st of June, and fell upon Mahomed Effendi, when he came amongst them to induce them to adopt the new uniform; and, at the moment of his death, the Janissaries, amounting to 15,000 men, arriving from the other batteries, seized the Seraglio, and holding a council of war in presence of the Grand-Mufti and Caimacan, put the solemn question to the former, "What punishment did he deserve who had established the new military force of Nizammi Geddid?" On the reply, that it was death according to the judgment of the Koran, the Mufti was ordered to go in and announce to Sultan Selim his deposition. He was accordingly seized and conducted to prison, and on his way thither met his nephew Mustapha, who had been released, and was now brought forward to succeed him in the empire. He embraced him in passing, and wished him a happier reign than his own had been. The news of these events reached Napoleon whilst in the midst of the negotiations of Tilsit. He did not lose a moment in endeavouring to turn them to his advantage, and, with that insatiable appetite for territory which has never yet failed any conqueror, he at once despatched Count Guilleminot to Sebastiani, at

Constantinople, to explain to the Porte his policy, that he never would permit any European Power to possess Byzantium, but that he was willing to admit that Russia should obtain Moldavia, Wallachia, and all Bulgaria, and that Servia should be allotted to Austria, but at the same time he required that Bosnia, Albania, Epirus, Peloponnesus, Attica, Thessalia, Macedonia, Dalmatia, and all the sea-coast of the Adriatic, as well as the Septinsular Republic, should be added to the dominions of France.

#### 17. WAR IN THE BALTIC.

The King of Sweden, who had never ratified the armistice concluded between Marshal Mortier and General Essen, not only permitted his marine to continue hostilities against France, but concluded a new treaty with England on the 17th of June. Marshal Mortier, with his corps, having been withdrawn by Napoleon to the grand army, other troops had been brought up for the defence of Hanover, and to watch any British expeditions in the Baltic. With these views, the two divisions of Generals Boudet and Molitor, and a Spanish division, which, under an engagement from Spain, had been expedited to the north, under the Marquis de la Romagna, were now placed as a separate corps of about 30,000 men, under Marshal Brune, while Bernadotte, who had gone to Hamburg for recovery from his wounds at Friedland, now received the supreme command of all the forces destined to occupy the Hanse Towns and Hanover. By direction of the Emperor, the armistice with Sweden was to terminate on the 13th of July, and hostilities were ordered to be recommenced.

The King had under his command about 15,000 Swedes, 6000 Prussians under General Blücher, and about 10,000 British under Lieut.-General Lord Cathcart; but the Prussians were ordered to withdraw from the Swedish army after the Peace of Tilsit, and the British then retired to garrison Stralsund, until the arrival of the Con-junct Expedition preparing in England. Alison relates an anecdote of Gustavus IV., in which he sadly resembles many monarchs of greater sanity, who expose themselves to the contagion of that royal disease—military renown. He had narrowly escaped a fate not unlike that of his great ancestor Charles XII., and immediately sent in a flag of truce to the French Commander-in-Chief, offering a purse of gold to the gunner who had levelled the gun that missed him. The Swedes retired before Brune's advance on the 13th; Molitor, Boudet, Loison, and Granjean, crossing the river Peene in pursuit in different columns. On the 14th, however, Molitor found the enemy formed up at Martenshagen, but after a few shots they retired until they reached Steinhagens, when they appeared determined to make a stand, having received reinforcements out of Stralsund. They here occupied a strong position, having a marshy wood on their right, and the lake of Zeemuht on their left, and their whole front was garnished with artillery. The battle came off on the 15th of July, the King commanding the Swedes in person. General Boudet, with the advanced guard, first came upon this position, and

finding it could not be turned, he resolved to carry it by assault. General Valory was ordered on this service, at the head of two regiments, who advanced in close column, covered by all the guns pouring in grape at a short distance. The Swedes gave way before the boldness of the attack, and fled, leaving behind them all their cannon, nor did they stop till they reached Stralsund the same evening. The next morning Marshal Brune invested that place. The King sent an aide-de-camp to propose to renew the armistice, but the flag of truce was not received. The few British troops that remained now withdrew from the fortress into the island of Rugen, and Stralsund was besieged in form. Trenches were opened on the night of the 15th of August, and General Chassé-loup, who had so eminently distinguished himself in directing the siege of Dantzig, now pushed forward the approaches with such extraordinary vigour that in four days they were within 300 yards of the covered way, and the batteries were already armed and ready to commence. On the 20th, the King retired from the town, which was given up to the French in the act of their preparing for the assault. The besiegers, however, found that all the guns on the ramparts were already withdrawn from the side of the sea, and that everything that could float had been carried away. It was necessary, however, for the besiegers to get possession of the islands of Rugen and Dänholm; and accordingly every effort was made to obtain fishing-boats and vessels of any description from the adjoining waters, so that by great activity they had already, on the 23rd, collected 200 *bateaux*. Batteries were now established on the shore to silence those of Dänholm, and to keep back the enemy's gun-boats. On the night of the 24th-25th General Trinion made an assault upon Dänholm, and, in conjunction with Captain Montcabrié of the French navy, took it, with its governor and garrison of 580 men. It was next resolved to attack the island of Rugen, which the King held with about 15,000 men. For this purpose large rafts were prepared for the transport of heavy artillery, and the means were collected of disembarking 6000 men, when His Majesty sent Baron de Toll to conclude a convention for the surrender of one-half of the island, to be given up on the 9th of September, the remainder as soon as the Swedish army should have evacuated it. On the 7th of October, when this condition was brought to Napoleon to be ratified, he observed that the plenipotentiaries on both sides acted in the name of their respective armies instead of their sovereigns. This convention highly displeased him, though it relieved him from much anxiety as to the security of the North of Germany; but he had calculated on capturing the King and all his army. He forthwith superseded Marshal Brune by giving the command of the army of Pomerania to Marshal Bernadotte; and it was principally owing to the kindness and rectitude of the marshal's government of this Swedish province that he was elected, three years afterwards, successor to the crown of Sweden. Brune was never again restored to favour, but, nevertheless, returned to the service of Napoleon in the *Hundred Days*.

### 18. A BRITISH CONJUNCT EXPEDITION SENT AGAINST COPENHAGEN.

An expedition had been projected by the British Government to create a diversion in favour of Russia and Prussia, before the decisive victory of Friedland had put an end to the campaign; but, although the rapidity of Napoleon's successes was such that it even anticipated its setting sail, yet enough had transpired of the conferences at Tilsit to make it evident that, having now scattered to the winds all the enemies who threatened his power on the Continent, he was prepared to strain every nerve to make an impression upon Great Britain. An imaginary statement of the French Emperor's designs, at this period, describes his plan to have been, to embody the whole maritime forces of the Continent against the British navy. He counted on having 180 ships of war under his hand: French, Spanish, Russian, Swedish, Dutch, Portuguese, and Danish. Of this immense naval power, the last division, consisting of 15 sail of the line, reposed at this moment in the waters of Copenhagen. Under these circumstances, a daring and vigorous resolution was adopted by the British Government, similar, though on a grander scale, to what had often been practised in war; namely, to deprive the enemy of the prize he thought to be actually in his grasp, and to convert to their own defence some of the resources on which he relied for his attack. The project had been likened to Frederick the Great's sudden invasion of Saxony, in 1756; but the annals of the French Revolution offered many precedents more immediately in point.

On the 19th of July, the determination was adopted by the British Cabinet to get possession, *per fas aut nefas*, of the Danish fleets, and it was thought possible, at first, that this might be obtained by a diplomatic negotiation. Mr. Jackson, who had for several years resided as British minister at Berlin, and was supposed to be well acquainted with the general politics of the North of Europe, was selected as ambassador, to repair to the Court of Denmark, to demand that the whole of its naval armament should be delivered over to Great Britain, as a secure deposit, upon the solemn stipulation that it should be restored at the conclusion of the war; and he was instructed to announce to the Prince-Regent of Denmark the unequivocal resolve of the British Government to enforce this requisition by the operation of the powerful armament now on its way to the Baltic. Mr. Jackson arrived at Kiel on the 6th of August, and immediately requested, through the minister, Count Bernstorff, an audience of the Prince, who received the overture with great vehemence of expression, inveighing bitterly against the arrogance of England in making such a demand. Mr. Jackson, nevertheless, saw the Prince, and was referred by H. R. H. to the Council at Copenhagen, whither Mr. Jackson repaired on the 12th, when he was informed by a brother of Count Bernstorff's, that the Prince had left the capital for Sleswig, but that the Ambassador was to make all his overtures to him *ad referendum*. This

truly Chinese mode of negotiation lost all its effect with a powerful armament in the offing, and, accordingly, Mr. Jackson at once broke off the negotiations, and repaired on board the advanced frigate of the British squadron, on the 13th. The night previously the Danish frigate "Frederickscoarn," 32, foreseeing the turn of affairs, slipped her cable from Elsinore and steered for Norway. The "Defence," Captain Ekins, and the "Comus," 22, Captain Heywood, weighed in pursuit of her, and the latter came up with her a few minutes before midnight of the 14th. On the Danish captain refusing to submit to detention, the "Comus," commenced an action within pistol-shot, and, after 45 minutes, the boarders, under Lieutenants Watts and Hood, rushed upon her forecastle, and carried her.

On the 26th-27th of July, an expedition had set sail from Yarmouth roads, consisting of 17 ships of the line; namely, "Prince of Wales," 98, Captain Sir Home Popham, Captain of the Fleet, "Pompée," 74, Captain Richard Dacres, "Centaur," 74, Captain Webley, "Ganges," 74, "Captain Halkett," "Spencer," 74, Captain Hon. Robert Stopford, "Vanguard," 74, Captain Fraser, "Maida," 74, Captain Lenzee, "Brunswick," 74, Captain Graves, "Resolution," 74, Captain Burlton, "Hercule," 74, Captain Hon. John Colville, "Orion," 74, Captain Sir Archibald Dickson, "Alfred," 74, Captain Bligh, "Goliath," 74, Captain Puget, "Captain," 74, Captain Wolley, "Ruby," 64, Captain Draper, "Dictator," 64, Captain Donald Campbell, and "Nassau," 64, Captain Robert Campbell, bearing the flags of Admiral Gambier, Vice-Admiral Stanhope, and Commanders Sir Samuel Hood and Gordon Keats; accompanied by between 30 and 40 sails of frigates and other smaller ships of war, counting 90 pendants, together with 300 transports, having on board 20,000 troops, under the command of Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley.

On the 1st of August the fleet divided, and 4 line-of-battle ships, 2 frigates, and 10 brigs, under Commander Keats, steered for the passage of the Great Belt, to cut off all communication between Zealand and Holstein; while the rest sailed forward, and on the 3rd, after interchanging salutes with the castle of Cronemberg, anchored in the road of Elsinore. Here the transports from the island of Rugen joined, bringing the troops from Stralsund under Lieutenant-General Lord Cathcart, who was to command the land forces in chief, which now consisted of 27,000 troops. The entire armament cast anchor in appalling strength, on the 17th, before the island of Zealand, which was surrounded and blockaded on every side.

The sea defences of Copenhagen consisted at this time of a battery built upon piles at the entrance of the canal to the arsenal and harbour, mounting 68 guns, besides mortars; another pile battery in front of the citadel, mounting 86 guns and 9 mortars; and the citadel, which mounted 20 guns and 12 mortars. There were also blockships and floating batteries, and from 25 to 30 gun-boats, all ready for action; and in the arsenal lay a fleet consisting of 16 sail of the line, and 21 frigates and sloops, and, besides three  
*163 on the stocks*, one nearly complete for launching.

Early on the morning of the 15th, the British commanders were informed that all hope of a friendly accommodation had passed, and that they were at liberty to proceed in their operations according to the instructions with which they were provided for that contingency. On the morning of the 16th, therefore, the transports having weighed and worked into the Bay, the troops were landed, without resistance, at Wedbeck, about 12 miles from the capital, towards which they commenced their march on the following day, but were much incommoded by the fire of the Danish gun-boats. Some skirmishing also took place with the advance on shore, consisting of a battalion of the 23rd, under Major Pearson, in which 5 or 6 men lost their lives. On the 18th, the stores and artillery were disembarked, and all the necessary arrangements were made for a bombardment. The works were carried on with vigour by labouring parties of 600 men, relieved every four hours; and the batteries increased in strength and numbers round the devoted city, while the frigates and gun-brigs took their stations off the entrance of the harbour within shell range. No works existed on the shore to check these proceedings, but the Prince-Regent had an army in Holstein, to the command of which he forthwith repaired, although there was no enemy in that quarter, but he left the defence of the city to General Peymann, and directed General Carstenkiold to collect the militia and introduce them, if it should prove possible, into the town. On the 19th the port of Fredericksberg was surprised by Brigadier Dicken, and its garrison of 850 men made prisoners. Meanwhile, the Danish militia were advancing along the isle of Zealand, under Carstenkiold, and Lord Cathcart, deeming that this little army, which had already reached Rosekild, might impede his operations, directed Wellesley, with a division of 4000 or 5000 men, to march against it and disperse it. Upon his approach to Kioge, on the 25th, he found the Danish force on the north side of the town and rivulet, with 3 or 4 batteries in front, which opened upon the British advance. General Linsingen was ordered to cross at Little Salbye, and turn the enemy's left, while Wellesley headed the attack in front by an echelon of battalions, led by the 92nd, and covered by the rifle fire of the 95th and that of his artillery. The Danish militia were soon driven back in disorder, but 4 battalions of regulars, under Major-General Ozhoken, attempted to stand in the village of Hersolge, who were briskly attacked and compelled to surrender, together with 10 guns. Sir Arthur then advanced into the interior of the island, for the purpose of overawing all further opposition from the irregular troops.

King Christian VII., at Gluckstadt, and his General commanding on the isle of Zealand, had issued proclamations directing all English vessels and property to be sequestered; and, on the 17th, some Danish gun-boats had seized and set fire to an English timber-laden barque. The Admiral, therefore, as soon as he had anchored in Copenhagen road, ordered all Danish ships to be detained. Some interchange of hostilities had also ensued between the British and Danish gun-boats on the 18th and 21st, on which latter day, the cir-

cumvallation of the island having been rendered complete, the Admiral declared it in a state of blockade. The last division of troops, under Lord Roslyn, now also arrived and disembarked. To defend the left of the army from the Danish gun-boats, a battery of 13 guns had been commenced at a spot called Svane-Møke; but on the 22nd, 3 Danish prams and 3 gun-boats had so placed themselves as to interrupt its construction and that of others. To oppose these, a squadron of 7 British bombs and gun-boats now took up a station, under the command of Captain Puget, and were attacked on the 23rd by the Danes, assisted by the fire of the Trekonen and the floating batteries; and, though this fire was returned with spirit by the British, it was found so severe that the bombs and gun-boats drew off, with the loss of a lieutenant and 3 seamen killed, and an officer and about 12 men wounded. On the 25th, a division of Danish gun-boats cannonaded the right of the British line where the Guards were stationed, and much annoyed them; but, on the following day, the small battery caused one of them, called the "Stube-Kiebing," to blow up, and damaged others so badly, that, on the 27th, the besiegers were enabled to open a new battery of four 24-pounders, which made these gun-boats keep their distance. Nevertheless, on the 31st, they again made an attack upon the British shore batteries, but with little success. On the 1st of September, there being already mounted in battery 48 mortars and howitzers, and 20 24-pounders ready to open upon the city, Major-General Peymann was summoned, but returned a direct negative. There was now no further alternative, and, in consequence, the British batteries opened on the 2nd, and the town was set on fire by the first flight of Congreve rockets, which were here employed for the first time. The inhabitants sustained with heroic resolution the fiery tempest, and all classes were indefatigable in their endeavours to carry water to the quarters where the city was in flames. The fire was returned upon the British batteries from the Danish gun-boats and from the works and outposts with cannon and musketry, and some men of Major-General Grosvenor's\* brigade were struck down. On the night of the 3rd the fire slackened a little, to allow General Peymann an opportunity to capitulate, but the Danish Governor remaining obsti-

\* Among the chargers brought over by General Grosvenor was a mare, which proved to be in foal, and, after her safe return to England, produced a colt, which was named "Copenhagen." This horse being afterwards sold to Major-General Sir Charles Stewart was taken by him to the Peninsula, and when that officer quitted the army in 1813, on the death of his first wife, it was sold and became the property of the Duke. At Vittoria and other battles his Grace used no other charger, and it became a great favourite with him. That horse also carried the Duke of Wellington throughout the glorious day of Waterloo, when it is said he bore him for eighteen hours on his back, and when at length released at its close, gave no sign of fatigue. He was of a full rich chestnut colour, with a strong dash of the Arab in his appearance, and showed at all times an endurance of work that was very remarkable. He died in 1835 at the age of twenty-seven, and was buried at Strathfieldsaye with military honours. His mane and tail furnished a great many rings, brooches, and bracelets, which were presented by the great commanders to enthusiastic ladies; so that this celebrated charger obtained a renown which will probably long continue, for these memorials will not cease to be regarded as the heir-looms of many a noble family. "Copenhagen" was modelled for the horse of the Wellington statue upon the arch in London.

nate, the bombardment recommenced in all its fury. In a short time, the wood in the great-timber yard was set on fire by red-hot shot, and the steeple of the Fruekirche caught the flames and fell on the 4th. The fiery elements now spread in every direction, and the engines, which, at first, had rendered some good service, were now all destroyed, and the firemen killed or wounded. Before the third night 1800 houses were consumed, and 1500 of the inhabitants had lost their lives, when the conflagration threatened to extend itself over the entire city. At length on the forenoon of the 5th a flag of truce appeared at the outposts of the British army, to ask an armistice of 24 hours to treat for a capitulation. Lord Cathcart replied that none could be granted, unless accompanied by the surrender of the whole Danish fleet. Major-General Peymann having consented to the unconditional surrender of ships, guns, and naval stores, Sir Arthur Wellesley, Sir Home Popham, and Lieut.-Colonel George Murray, were sent in to settle the terms of capitulation, which were drawn up on the night of the 6th-7th, and the citadel was given up on the 8th to the British troops. The loss of the British was—56 killed, and about 200 wounded; that of the Danes about 255 rank and file killed and wounded, besides prisoners. It has been stated by the Danes that the Crown-Prince sent Lieutenant Von Sleffen to General Peymann, from Kiel, with orders to burn the fleet in case of his being compelled to a surrender, and that the Lieutenant destroyed his despatches on being taken prisoner by some of the patrols of the British army.

The object of the expedition having been attained, everything of a tendency to wound the feelings of the Danes, as a nation, was avoided. The havoc that had been made by the bombardment was the consequence of what they thought due to their honour; but not a shot was fired, or a hostile act perpetrated, after the flag of truce had been displayed.

The alacrity of the British seamen was such, that in nine days' time 14 sail of the Danish men-of-war were safely towed out of the harbour into the roads; and, in the space of six weeks, the three remaining ships, with the entire contents of the arsenal and its store-houses, masts, spars, timber, and other naval materials, were removed, ready for transportation to England; so that on the 26th of October three 80-gun ships, fourteen 74, one 64, two 40, six 46, and two 32-gun frigates, two 20-gun ships, eighteen of 16-guns, and three gun-brigs, with 25 gun-boats, sailed from Copenhagen roads in three divisions; the last division of the British army re-embarked without a casualty on the 20th, and returned to England. The most valuable part of the seizure was the naval stores, which were shipped on board 92 transports, measuring 20,000 tons. The benefit to England was not, however, so much what she acquired, as what the enemy lost. There were only 4 of the line-of-battle ships captured that were found worth the cost of repair; but the artillery taken away amounted to 3500 pieces. No great loss, perhaps, to Napoleon; but the destruction of his fleet and arsenal broke the heart of the Danish King, who expired shortly afterwards at his castle of Rendsburg.

The Prince-Royal refused to ratify the capitulation, and declared war against England, asserting, in his idle rage, that he could continue hostilities until he had retaken by arms what had been taken from him by treachery. Napoleon, of course, raised a loud cry against Great Britain for this mighty blow, saying, "Blood and fire have made the English masters of Copenhagen," and French and European writers are even yet found to treat it as a "scélératessen" and a "barbare"—terms which, it must be confessed, are quite applicable to every operation of war, but in no way peculiar to the siege of Copenhagen. The King of Prussia now united with Denmark and Russia in a new Northern Coalition against Great Britain, to which Sweden was constrained to accede, after the Prince of Ponte-Corvo had made preparations to cross the Baltic to enforce it, and that the Czar had ordered General Buxhowden to invade Finland.

#### 19. CAPTURE OF HELIGOLAND.

The British frigate "Quebec," 32, Captain the Lord Falkland, was ordered, at this time, to proceed and obtain possession of the Danish island of Heligoland, situated in the North Sea, and forming a natural defence to the shores of the Elbe, the Weser, the Ems, and the Eyder. The "Quebec" arrived off the island on the 30th of August, and Lord Falkland forthwith summoned the Danish Commandant and Governor, who at first refused, but, while steps were taken to employ force to compel him, yielded up his trust. The "Majestic," 74, Captain Hart, carrying the flag of Vice-Admiral Macnamara Russell, had, in effect, anchored close off the town; and on the 5th the Danish officer, seeing the uselessness of opposition, sent an offer to capitulate, which was accepted; the flag of England was raised over the little rocky island, where it still flies as a beacon in dangerous waters, a guide to and an asylum for the ships of all nations.

#### 20. NAPOLEON RETURNS TO FRANCE — SENDS AN ARMY INTO THE PENINSULA.

On the morning of the 27th of July, the cannon of the Invalides announced to the citizens that Napoleon, after an absence from Paris of nearly a year, was amongst them once more. He had arrived in the night at St. Cloud, and rejoined his family, who were assembled to meet him at his accustomed summer residence. He was waited upon there by all the great dignitaries and ministers, and immediately announced a Session of the Corps Législatif, which he opened in person on his name day, the 15th of August. It was a glorious day and a grand fête, for he appeared among his people as the greatest conqueror that had ever reigned in France; and "Voilà la paix continentale assurée," he said, "et quant à la paix maritime nous l'obtiendrons bientôt. Je viendrai à bout de tous les résistances." In fact, he was at the very summit of his glory. After the most glorious of his famous campaigns, he had no enemy capable of resisting his further progress, except the British nation. *The accounts that now arrived of their attempt on Copenhagen only added this little bitterness to his cup, that his enemies*

had learned to become as unscrupulous and as energetic as he would have been himself under similar circumstances. The success of this affair, however, deranged his bright scheme for bringing to bear the whole maritime power of Europe united against the navy of England. He is described by those who were around him to have openly lost his temper upon this news; but, as is said of him by Thiers, "Sa tête ardente, sans cesse en travail, ne terminait une œuvre que pour en commencer un autre," and the completion of his "Continental System" now appears to have occupied all his attention.

Having secured, by the Treaty of Tilsit, the concurrence of the whole of the North of Europe in this system, he now had leisure to devise how to carry it out in the southern kingdoms of Europe. No sooner, therefore, was he arrived in Paris than he began to turn his eyes towards the Peninsula. At a reception of the Corps Diplomatique, in the first days of August, Napoleon briskly demanded of the Count de Lima, Portuguese Ambassador at the Tuilleries, what had been done by his Government to carry into effect the exclusion of the commerce of Great Britain from the Tagus; and as he had an old score against the wretched favourite who mis-governed Spain, he was now in a condition to settle the quarrel in the way most favourable to his own designs.

The Emperor had previously fomented, through Beauharnais, his ambassador at Madrid, an intrigue calculated to embroil the royal family of Spain in such a manner as that he might be called in to arbitrate between them. These Bourbons were still smarting under the dethronement of the Neapolitan branch of the house; nevertheless, they sent the Duke de Frias to Paris, as an extraordinary ambassador, to congratulate the Emperor on his triumph. At the same time, however, M. Yzquierdo was in that capital as particular agent for the Prince of the Peace, and, with true Spanish ability, was ready to be made available for any intrigues. They soon bore fruit. Godoy, the minion of the Queen, was set against her son, the Prince of Asturias, so that, upon a pretended conspiracy of the heir-apparent against the King, his father, the Prince was arrested and confined in the Escorial Palace. The King was a weak man, and easily influenced by his Queen and her favourite, and permitted, at their instigation, the departure of Romagna's army. A treaty was soon afterwards concluded at Fontainebleau, by which French troops were to be admitted into Spain, to be maintained and subsisted by that state for the ostensible conquest of Portugal, which was to be divided into separate kingdoms, for the benefit of the King of Etruria and the Prince of the Peace; and, with some singularity under the circumstances, or some double purpose, Napoleon named the Prince of Asturias Generalissimo of the combined French and Spanish armies to be sent on this service. He had already formed a camp at Bayonne of 23,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 30 guns, of which he had given the command to General Junot, who was now ordered, without further instructions, to cross the frontier, and direct his march by way of Valladolid, Salamanca,

Ciudad Rodrigo, and Alcantara, upon Lisbon. At the same time, he prepared a second army, consisting of 24,000 men, with 40 guns, under General Dupont, the remains of the army of England in the camp at Boulogne, to be ready to follow Junot when required. The united force was short of cavalry, and there was difficulty, from some cause or other, of collecting from the stables at Compiègne, Chartres, Orleans, and Tours, as many as 5000 horses for this expedition.

**21. A FRENCH ARMY, UNDER JUNOT, TAKES POSSESSION OF PORTUGAL — THE ROYAL FAMILY EMIGRATE TO RIO DE JANEIRO.**

When the Prince-Regent of Portugal received the despatch from the Count de Lima, detailing the hostile language of Napoleon and the propositions from Paris, he had just lost, by death, his principal Minister, the Count de Villaverde, and was somewhat bewildered as to the course he should pursue by the presence and advice of Lord Strangford, the British Ambassador, and M. de Rayneul, Chargé d'Affaires of France. His first determination was to yield to the Emperor Napoleon's demands, and to exclude the commerce of Great Britain from Portugal, and he actually did this by a proclamation dated the 20th of October, but Lord Strangford demanded his passports in consequence; but when he heard of the assembling of a French army to take the field against him, and reflected how completely his continental possessions in South America lay at the mercy of England, he changed his policy, and determined to abandon his European kingdom, and take refuge in Brazil, with the whole of the Portuguese fleet, according to the proposal of the British Ambassador. This resolve was hastened by the arrival in the Tagus of 9 sail of the line, under the command of Rear-Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, which had been sent from England on the receipt of the Prince Regent's proclamation early in the month, and which squadron now came to anchor on the 17th of November. The British Ambassador forthwith repaired on board, and the Tagus was declared in a state of blockade by the British Admiral. Lord Strangford, however, received from England, by extraordinary despatch, the decree issued by Napoleon on the 13th, stating that the House of Bragança had ceased to reign, on which he opened fresh negotiations with the Prince-Regent, who, on the 27th, proclaimed his intention to retire, with the Queen, his mother, and all the Royal family, to South America, and to establish his court in Rio de Janeiro, appointing a Regency to govern the Kingdom of Portugal in his absence. The bulk of the Portuguese fleet was, fortunately for the Sovereign of Portugal, in readiness to put to sea; and, accordingly, on the 29th, in the morning, Vice-Admiral Don Manuel Sottomayor, having his flag on the "Príncipe Real," 84, with "Conde Henrique," 74, "Medusa," 74, "Príncipe de Brazil," 74, "Rainha de Portugal," 74, "Alfonso, d'Albuquerque," 74, "Don Juan de Castro," 74, "Martino de Freitas," 74, "Mineron," 44, "Golfinho," 36, "Urania" 36, and

another frigate of 32 guns, together with 3 20-gun corvettes and 1 12-gun schooner, accompanied by 20 large armed merchant-ships, set sail from Lisbon. The fleet received on board the whole of the Royal family of Bragança, and many of its most faithful counsellors and adherents, amounting in number to no less than 18,000 persons; and they carried away with them cargoes and property to the amount of many millions' value. The British and Portuguese fleets, before leaving the Tagus, ranged alongside each other, and the junction was reciprocally announced by salutes of 21 guns.

So desirous was General Junot of fulfilling the Emperor's wishes with regard to the Portuguese fleet, that, on receiving information soon after he had crossed the frontier that the Royal family had embarked for South America, he pushed forward in all haste with 1500 men and 1 gun, and entered Lisbon on the morning of the 29th November. A French emigrant, the Count de Novion, met him at the gate of Saccavem, and with some Portuguese police they traversed the town together, rapidly crossing the Praça do Commercio and the Rocio to Belem, whence he was just able to descry the united fleets in full sail; and it is said that, in his disappointment at their escape, he discharged at them the sole gun he had with him. The French army followed the Marshal, and arrived by dribelets each day, until, at length, 21,000 or 22,000 soldiers were assembled under arms, who immediately took possession of all the forts and barracks of the capital, where they soon recompensed themselves for the fatigues of their hurried march, and were amply provided with everything required to perfect their organisation. Of course, Marshal Junot had no scruple about treating the people as a conquered nation, and accordingly he levied contributions, and exercised all the attributes of sovereignty, disbanding and sending back to their homes the Portuguese troops whom he found in Portugal, and placing the administration of the kingdom in the hands of Monsieur Hermann, whom Napoleon had nominated to administer the Portuguese finances, he being at the time attached to the French Legation at Lisbon. The regency was at once formally dissolved, and the ancient flag of Portugal was hauled down and the tricolor hoisted in its place, under a salvo from the Moorish fort.

## 22. WAR IN ITALY—NAPOLEON REPAIRS THITHER ON A VISIT.

When, early in the year, Marshal Massena was summoned from Italy to the grand army in the north, General Reynier had assumed the command in that kingdom. The Marshal had directed General Verdier with the French troops in Calabria to lay siege to Amantea, and the trenches were opened before it in the night of the 14th-15th of January. A practicable breach was soon effected, and an assault attempted and repulsed. On the 20th, General Reynier arrived and took the direction of the besieging force, when mines were employed to destroy the walls, so that on the 5th of February another assault was attempted, and again failed. On the 6th, however, the supplies

of the garrison being all exhausted, Mirabelli, the Commandant, capitulated, on permission to retire to Sicily with the garrison. The following day the Castle of Fiume Freddo was invested; but some dissensions took place in the garrison, who rose against Micheli, the Governor, and gave up the fort. General Lamarque was then sent to bring Maratea to obedience. This place, perched upon a rock, was protected by some British frigates, and Mandasini, the Commandant, held it for 22 days against the French, when he likewise obtained terms to return to Sicily. On the 9th of May, the Prince of Hesse Philipstadt, who had so successfully defended Gaeta, landed at Reggio with 6000 men and 6 guns, and advanced to Miletto, when he summoned Reynier, who was in the vicinity with 3000 men, to surrender, when the French General, for all answer, marched out, on the 27th, to attack him. The Sicilian force was well posted and defended by their guns; but two battalions, under General Abbé, threatening either flank, while General Camus advanced with the reserve, the Sicilians were thrown into disorder, and lost their guns, so that the Prince of Hesse had some difficulty in reaching Reggio, with 50 cavalry only. Here he was joined by Corem-Cantone, a celebrated partisan, and took possession of Cortone, and, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Reynier, he held his ground in Calabria, and gave the French divisions so much trouble, that they could not effect an investment of Reggio and Scylla till the last days of the year.

It does not clearly appear what was the motive of Napoleon's visit to Italy at this juncture, whether affairs of peace or war. He certainly desired to consult his brother Lucien on matters connected with his Spanish views, and perhaps he had a love for the sunny land, which returned upon him more strongly after he had passed a campaign so active and so long amidst the fogs and marshes of Poland. He could not, however, leave Paris till the 16th of November, but he most unexpectedly presented himself at the cathedral of Milan on the 21st, while they were singing a Te Deum on his account. He had not seen his brother Joseph, nor his step-son, Prince Eugène, since their accession to their new honours, and they were the two persons in the world who nestled most in his affections. The Italian society pleased him, and wherever he went he was received with the greatest respect. He made an excursion to Venice on the 10th of December, and on his way thither visited Lucien. The Queen of the Adriatic, though, perhaps, feeling but little real warmth, was well disposed to receive the conqueror of her ancient oligarchy with something like the enthusiasm of hope. A grand marine fête awaited his arrival, in which a fleet of gondolas, brilliant with every colour, and with rich music on board, accompanied the Imperial barge, which carried the Emperor, the Viceroy and Vice-Queen, the King and Queen of Bavaria, the King of Naples, the Grand-Duke of Berg, the Prince of Neufchâtel, and a host of distinguished generals, to the venerable palace of the Doge, which now for the first time received the sovereign of Italy. Amidst the varied *businesses* which engaged his attention in this short Italian tour, Na-

poleon saw distinctly that he had nothing to fear in that country from Austria or any other sinister influence, but that the land was thoroughly tranquil and attached to his rule. He therefore resolved to withdraw from the garrisons a considerable amount of troops, which he directed to be sent across the Alps and Pyrenees, in order to form a new *corps-d'armée* at Perpignan, to further his designs on Spain. On the 15th he returned to Milan, where he received, with the despatches from France, a copy of the British Orders in Council of the 11th of November, announcing—"That all the ports and places of France and her allies, or of any other country from which the British flag is excluded, shall be deemed to be in a state of blockade; and that all trade in articles, the produce or manufacture of the said countries, shall be deemed unlawful, and the vessels and merchandize on board them shall be captured and condemned as prizes to the captors." This State paper filled him with the greatest indignation, and he immediately sent off a requisition to his Minister of Finance and Director of Customs at Paris, to report to him the effect that these Orders in Council would have on the commerce of his Empire. At the same time, too impatient in character and too fretful under the bold reprisals of his adversary to await any reply, he set himself down forthwith to make a rejoinder in his own language. This celebrated Milan decree is dated the 17th, forty-eight hours after his return to that city and his reception of the obnoxious measure of the British Cabinet. It sets forth, "that by these acts the British Government denationalizes the ships of every nation in Europe—an act of tyranny which cannot be permitted to be erected into a precedent." Accordingly, he thunders back a Decree, which employs identical machinery, and declares every ship denationalized which shall have submitted to be searched by British cruisers, and which he adjudges shall be good and lawful prizes. He then, in a spirit of retaliation at once puerile and impotent, declares the British Islands in a state of blockade; and sums up a State paper altogether unworthy of his Chancellerie, by declaring the order in council "a legislation such as that of Algiers," which he followed up by asserting principles of the law of nations which were not principles of justice and honour. The upshot of the whole was, that while Napoleon imposed on every conquered nation the obligation to shut out British commerce from the Continent, Great Britain closed the commerce of the seas in a reprisal. Tyranny, justice, and honour had very little to say in the matter on either side. After a short visit to Turin, where he decreed public works and new roads, he again quitted Italy, and reached Paris in time to receive the felicitations of his Court on the 1st of January.

### 23. COLONIAL WAR.

As soon as the British Government received the declaration of war of those states which had now fallen into the hands of the enemy, steps were taken to despatch British squadrons for the seizure of their transmarine possessions. Accordingly, on the 16th

of the garrison being all exhausted, Mirabelli, the Commandant, capitulated, on permission to retire to Sicily with the garrison. The following day the Castle of Fiume Freddo was invested; but some dissensions took place in the garrison, who rose against Micheli, the Governor, and gave up the fort. General Lamarque was then sent to bring Maratea to obedience. This place, perched upon a rock, was protected by some British frigates, and Mandasini, the Commandant, held it for 22 days against the French, when he likewise obtained terms to return to Sicily. On the 9th of May, the Prince of Hesse Philipstadt, who had so successfully defended Gaeta, landed at Reggio with 6000 men and 6 guns, and advanced to Mileto, when he summoned Reynier, who was in the vicinity with 3000 men, to surrender, when the French General, for all answer, marched out, on the 27th, to attack him. The Sicilian force was well posted and defended by their guns; but two battalions, under General Abbé, threatening either flank, while General Camus advanced with the reserve, the Sicilians were thrown into disorder, and lost their guns, so that the Prince of Hesse had some difficulty in reaching Reggio, with 50 cavalry only. Here he was joined by Corem-Cantone, a celebrated partisan, and took possession of Cortone, and, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Reynier, he held his ground in Calabria, and gave the French divisions so much trouble, that they could not effect an investment of Reggio and Scylla till the last days of the year.

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16 wounded. On the 1st of October the Leeward Island packet "Windsor Castle," Captain Rogers, was chased by a privateer, under all sail, and, being unable to escape, she was summoned to surrender and boarded; but the assailants were driven back by the packet's crew, who held her fast locked by the rigging, when Captain Rogers seized an opportunity, and, followed by five of his little crew, leaped upon the privateer's deck, and ultimately captured her, with the loss of 3 men killed and 10 wounded. A more gallant action than this was never fought by a ship of war. On the 6th of June the British gun-brig "Port d'Espagne," 14, Lieutenant Pattison Stewart, detached a prize schooner to capture a Spanish privateer, which Lieutenant Hall, the commander, effected in a very cool and brave manner, with the loss of only 2 wounded. On the 23rd of August, while the gun-brig "Weasel," 18, Captain Clavell, was lying becalmed in the harbour of Corfu, an officer of the Russian navy came to him and gave information that a French garrison was in possession of the island. The "Weasel" immediately crowded sail to get away to Malta with the intelligence; but early in the following morning she observed three trabaculos (a name given in the Mediterranean to the variously rigged small vessels employed on its coasts) working in along shore, and immediately made sail after them and captured them. The prizes were found to have on board 251 French soldiers, under the command of Colonel Devilliers, who were, of course, made prisoners. On the same afternoon the "Weasel" captured another small vessel with 20 French soldiers on board, all of whom she carried away into Valetta harbour. After the Peace of Tilsit, the Russians, as already stated, received Corfu from the French, but Captain Clavell, meeting with their garrison, who were sent to take possession, defeated and captured it. On the 3rd of December the British brig-sloop "Curieux," 18, Captain John Sherriff, came across the French privateer "Revanche," 24, and an action ensued, in which the Captain and 4 or 5 men were killed and several wounded. The command devolved on Lieutenant Muir, who prepared to board, but was obliged to relinquish the attempt. The privateer, after a volley of musketry, then sailed away, and the "Curieux" was too crippled to pursue.

The Boat actions this year were more considerable than formerly, for there were scarcely any hostile ships-of-war left for the British navy to grapple with on the open seas. The love of enterprise among her officers, however, always gave them something to do. On the 6th of January the frigate "Impériouse," 38, Captain Lord Cochrane, despatched her boats, under the orders of Lieutenant Mapleton, to bring out of the basin of Arcasson, near the Gironde, whatever vessels might be found there. The first step adopted by Mapleton was to attack and carry Fort Requeste, at the entrance of the inlet. He spiked the guns, and destroyed all the military stores in the fort, but could find no vessels in the basin. On the 21st, off the coast of Caraccas, the frigate "Galatea," 32, Captain Sayer, discovered from her mast-head a sail steering for La Guaya, which proved to be the French brig-corvette "Lynx," 16, Lieut.

de Vainsean Fargenel, with despatches; and, finding her shut in coastwise by the course she was pursuing, the Captain hoped to obtain possession of her. Accordingly, 6 boats, under the command of Lieutenant Coombe in the barge, pushed off from the ship, each of which was directed to make the best of its way separately, but not to engage before the barge got up. In this way the boats undauntingly advanced, and, as soon as Lieutenant Coombe got within pistol-shot of the "Lynx," he led the boarders, with three cheers, close alongside her. She opened so heavy a fire, however, that a first and second attempt failed. At length, the British gained the Frenchman's deck, when a most desperate and bloody conflict ensued, which terminated in favour of the boarders. They had been seven hours in the chase under a burning sun, but the whole contest only occupied 15 minutes of darkness. The "Galatea" had, however, made so much way in the interval, that it was 3 o'clock in the morning before the "Lynx," with her captors astern, regained the frigate. The French corvette lost 14 killed and 20 wounded, and, amongst the latter, her Lieutenant commanding. The British lost 9 killed, including one officer, and 22 wounded, including Lieutenant Coombe, who had already a wooden leg, and was now wounded again in the same thigh. The ship-sloop "Lark," 18, Captain Nicholas, cruising off the Spanish main, had captured some Spanish gardacostas, and now discovered, on the 1st of February, a fleet of market-boats, under convoy of two gun-boats and an armed schooner. The market-boats at once ran on shore, but the gun-boats and schooner sheltered themselves under a 4-gun battery in Zispata bay. The "Lark" silenced the fort, but could not follow the vessels into the shallows; Captain Nicholas, therefore, went himself in his boats with 100 men and boys. The Spaniards rowed out to meet the British, who kept up a resolute fire till they neared, when the enemy turned and fled; but the sternmost gun-vessel was boarded and carried, while the other gun-boats and the schooner got safe up the creek, and, though pursued till the 5th, could not be captured. On the 15th the "Comus," 22, Captain Coveny Shipley, cruising off Grand Canaria, sent her boats, under the orders of Lieutenants Watts, Hood, Knight, and Campbell, of the Marines, to cut out some vessels in the harbour of Puerto de Hag, in which they succeeded, with the single casualty of Lieutenant Campbell wounded. On the 15th of May, Captain Shipley again sent in his boats, under Lieutenant Watts, to bring away a large armed felucca from under the cross-fire of three batteries. She was boarded and carried, but her sails and rudder had been taken ashore, and therefore the boats were delayed under a severe fire, by which 6 men were killed and wounded. The felucca, which was at length secured, had on board some Spanish troops, all of whom were killed, wounded, or taken.

On the 19th, the gun-brig "Richmond," Lieutenant Heming, discovered a lugger, with Spanish colours flying, in a little bay to the northward of Peruche, and, as soon as it was dark, detached two boats, under Lieutenant Bush, who pulled boldly into the bay, and, in the face of a heavy fire, boarded and

carried the privateer "Galliard," 4, with a crew of 36 men. On the 5th of June, the British frigate "Pomone," 38, Captain Barrie, discovered a convoy, under the escort of three armed brigs, off the Pertuis-Breton. As soon as she got within random shot, two of the brigs ran on shore, and the third was abandoned by the crew. Lieutenant Jones was sent in the six-oared cutter to take possession, when several vessels of the convoy were observed to be becalmed. As soon as the Lieutenant came up with them, the crews took to their boats, but 14 brigs, sloops, and chasse-marées were captured. On the 6th of August, the frigate "Hydra," 38, Captain Mundy, chased into the harbour of Begur, on the coast of Catalonia, three armed vessels. On reconnoitring the port, it was discovered that these vessels lay in a narrow harbour, under the close protection of a fort and a tower upon a cliff, and of rocks and bushes well suited for the concealment of soldiery. Nevertheless, Captain Mundy, having a strong reliance on the firmness and resources of his people, resolved to attempt to cut them out. Having, therefore, anchored, with springs on his cables, to assist with his heavy guns, he sent in one division of his boats, with 50 men, under Lieutenant Drury, who, in defiance of cannon, langridge, and musketry, landed, and mounted the cliff to assault the fort; but the enemy, having spiked the guns, abandoned it on the one side, as the "Hydra's" men entered it on the other. Lieutenant Drury then advanced to the town, when the French crews abandoned their vessels, and, at the expiration of less than three hours, Drury was in complete possession of all the vessels, and, notwithstanding a galling fire, commenced carrying out his prizes; but, on seeing the difficulties he had to contend with, Captain Mundy sent the remainder of his boats to the assistance of the Lieutenant and his little party, when the whole were secured. The captured placers were "Prince Eugène," 16, "Belle Caroline," 12, and brig "Carmen de Rosario," 4. It will scarcely be credited that this very spirited and well-conducted enterprise cost only 7 casualties. On the 18th, the ship-sloop "Confiance," 18, Captain Lucas Yeo, received information that a lugger privateer was in the port of Guardia, on the coast of Portugal. The Captain despatched Lieutenant Hovenden Walker, with his boats, to cut her out; and, notwithstanding that she lay under the fire of two forts, the "Reitarda" was boarded and carried without the slightest loss. On the 25th, the frigate "Clyde," 38, Captain Owen, cruising between Fécamp and Yport, despatched her boats, under Lieutenant Strong, to intercept a coasting sloop, who, when she saw herself pursued, ran on shore, where she was defended by a battery. The Lieutenant followed her, and, in spite of the opposition he experienced from soldiery with a field-piece, as well as from the guns of the battery, he boarded and floated the sloop, and carried her away without injury to a single man. On the 7th of October, the "Porcupine," 22, Captain Hon. Henry Duncan, having chased a trabacculo into Zupiano, an island in the Adriatic, despatched her boats, under the command of Lieutenant Price, who, notwithstanding

standing that the gun-vessel had moored herself to the shore, with four cables, gallantly boarded and captured the "Safo," Enseigne de Vaisseau A. Ghega, together with a guard-boat, manned with French soldiers. On the 27th of November, the same Lieutenant Price, in the cutter of the "Porcupine," captured two vessels in the port of Ragusa, and, on the 29th, went in with the boats to Zuliano, where he took and destroyed several trabacculos. On the 25th, the ship-sloop "Herald," 18, Captain Hony, observed an armed trabacculo under the fortress of Otranto. He, therefore, sent in the boats commanded by Lieutenant Foreman, who, in the face of a heavy fire of great guns and musketry, boarded and brought out the "César," 4, privateer, with only one man hurt. On the 24th of November, the armed brig "Anne," 10, Lieutenant James M'Kenzie, having in her company the Spanish lugger-privateer "Vansijo," 7, which she had captured, observed 10 Spanish gun-boats coming out from the island of Tenifa, and finding, from the calm state of the weather, that, in the teeth of such superiority of force, he could not escape, shortened sail, to receive his opponents. As soon as they closed, they commenced the action, and, in a quarter of an hour, the lugger struck her colours, but the "Anne" continued the struggle, and, after about three hours' fighting, the Spaniards swept out of gun-shot, carrying away with them their recovered prize. The contest had been carried on for nearly an hour and a half within pistol-shot, and each of the gun-boats carried 4 guns, with crews of from 40 to 60 men, yet, wonderful to relate, their fire did not injure a man on board the "Anne." On the 6th of November, the boats of the British frigate "Renommée," 36, Captain Sir Thomas Livingstone, and brig-sloop "Grasshopper," 18, Captain Searle, were sent, under Lieutenant Webster, to endeavour to cut out some vessels below the Torre de Eustachio, near Cartagena, and they succeeded in getting possession of a Spanish brig and French tartan, of 6 guns each, but, in carrying them off, both vessels grounded. A continual fire of grape was immediately opened upon them, by which several of the crews of the captured ships, with women and children, were wounded. Webster, therefore, generously abandoned the prizes, without firing them. On the 11th of December, the same two ships, off Cape Palos, despatched a brig and two settees at anchor, on which they opened a fire of round and grape, when the Spanish brig "San Josef," 10, Lieutenant Don Antonio de Torres, struck to the "Grasshopper," but the "Medusa," 10, and the "Aigle," 8, sailed away.

#### 26. NAVAL WAR IN THE INDIAN OCEAN.

Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, commanding in the Indian Seas, with the "Culloden," 74, bearing his flag; "Powerful," 74, Captain Pamplin; "Caroline," 36, Captain Rainier; "Fox," 32; and "Psyche," 36, Captain Fleetwood Pellew, with several sloops and transports having troops on board, sailed from Malacca in the month of May in search after two Dutch 68-gun ships, which

had escaped from Batavia. The "Psyche" and "Caroline" were despatched in pursuit to the harbour of Griessie, at the eastern extremity of Java, but on arriving off Point Panka, on the 30th of August, they ascertained that the two ships sought for were in harbour but were not worth capture. The two frigates then stood to the westward, and on the 31st entered the roads of Samarang. The boats were immediately sent in under the command of Lieutenant Kersteman to bring out some vessels at anchor there, which service being performed, the vessels again weighed and made sail after some strange vessels who were endeavouring to escape. As soon as these three vessels found themselves chased they ran themselves on shore and opened a well directed fire upon the "Psyche." This was returned with such effect that in a few minutes the "Resolute," armed merchant ship with a valuable cargo on board, struck her colours. The "Psyche's" boats were then prepared to go in and board the other vessels, when the Dutch national corvette, "Scipio," 24, Captain Carrage (who had been mortally wounded), also struck. Shortly afterwards the "Ceres," 12, fired a broadside and hauled down her colours. All these prizes were by the exertions of the British crews got afloat and carried off. When this spirited affair was communicated to the Admiral, on the 5th of December, he proceeded with his squadron to Griessie, and sent a flag of truce to demand the surrender of the two ships lying there, which the Dutch Commodore met with a flat refusal. Accordingly, on the 6th the "Culloden" and "Powerful" sailed in, and were saluted by a battery of 12 guns at Sambelangau with hot shot, which, however, the Admiral soon silenced, and the Governor and Council of Sourabaya becoming dismayed, disclaimed the act of their Commodore and gave up the ships, which were set on fire, and the guns and military stores in the battery were destroyed.

On the 15th of April, off Cheribon, to the eastward of Batavia, three proas, under Dutch colours, were brought to by the boats of the sloop "Victor," Captain Bell; but the people on board were so unmanageable that the Captain fired a carronade into one of them, which, unfortunately, reached some powder and blew up the after part of the ship. The prisoners, on this, commenced a furious attack, throwing spears and knives, and firing pistols; but, by the great exertions of the ship's crew, the proas were cut adrift and the fire was providentially subdued, when attention was turned to the proas, which were taken possession of, after 80 of the insurgents were laid dead, in little more than half an hour, and the rest driven below. Nothing short of the most determined valour and coolness could have saved the ship under such circumstances. One Lieutenant and seven men were killed in the struggle, and the Captain and 25 wounded. On the 9th of October the "Modeste," 36, Hon. Captain Elliot, captured the French corvette, "La Jéna," 24. The "Psyche," 36, Captain Fleetwood Pellew, boarded and captured an armed schooner ~~merchant brig~~ off the port of Samarang, and subsequently an ~~ship~~ of 700 tons with a valuable cargo, a brig of 12 guns,

and a corvette of 24 guns, all which she safely carried into Madras roads.

The most severe blow to the commerce of Holland was, however, the attack of the Admiral upon Java, where, with the trifling loss of 1 killed and 5 wounded, 10 ships of war, mounting more than 150 guns, were boarded and destroyed in the Roads. In the latter part of the previous year, Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Trowbridge was directed to proceed with his flag on board the "Blenheim," 74, to the command of the Cape Station. It will be remembered that this gallant officer was the friend of Jervis and the companion of Nelson, and a man of the same daring spirit as those pre-eminently brave men. He was coming out of the Indian seas when he got on shore in the Straits of Malacca, which so injured his ship that his Captain reported it as unsafe for navigation. Sir Thomas, who was one of those men who made it his pride to overcome difficulties, persisted in his resolution to sail in her to the Cape of Good Hope, and on the 12th of January quitted Madras in company with the "Java," 36, Captain Pigot, and the brig "Harrier," 18, Captain Finlay. The latter was the only one of the three which reached her destination, having parted with her consorts in a tremendous gale off Madagascar. The gallant and deeply-regretted Admiral, with the two captains and their ships, were never again heard of.

## 27. SPAIN.

The French army, under Junot, had entered Spain, with the full consent of the Government, for the avowed purpose of making a conquest of Portugal; but, on the 22nd of November, without any authority or permission asked for or given, 24,000 French infantry and 4000 horse, with 40 guns, under Dupont, followed by 25,000 infantry and 3000 horse, with 40 guns, under Moncey, defiled towards the Ebro, upon Madrid, while 12,000 infantry and 2000 horse, with 20 guns, took the road to Barcelona. The march of these troops was not even notified to the King, whose utter nothingness was duly appreciated by the French Emperor. The following exposition of the resources, naval and military, of the King of Spain and the Indies, as given by M. Thiers, who assures us that it was fully known to Napoleon, will show that the kingdom lay an easy conquest before him, without the sad chapter of deceit now about to be opened, and the disgraceful kidnapping of the whole Royal family which formed a portion of it, the consequences of which so fully justified Talleyrand's *mot*, that the blunder was worse than the crime.

The Spanish marine, under Carlos Tercero and his minister, Florida Blanca, though not what it had been in the more glorious days of Spain, consisted of 76 ships of the line and 51 frigates, at the death of that monarch in 1788. At the period of the French invasion there were only 25 ships of the line fit for service, with 20 frigates, of which one-half were not worth the cost of repair, while of this force but six were victualled and ready for sea, and these

had never quitted the harbour for three years. There were only two ships of war on the stocks, and these had been so long in building that it was thought they were now scarcely worth completion. The great arsenals at Ferrol, Cadiz, and Cartagena were without stores of any kind, and the buildings themselves were falling into decay. The great magazine of Cadiz, which had been burned down nine years since, had never been restored, and the cannon remained still buried under the ruins. The great rope-walks of Cadiz and Cartagena were without hemp; and the finest oaks lay felled in the forests of Old Castile, Biscay, and Asturias, waiting for transport to the ship-yards, where stores of all kinds were sold by the speculators, rather than purchased for the use of the State. The sailors of the fleet and the workmen in the dockyards were left two years in arrear of pay. In opposition to this scandalous dearth of naval necessities, there was a singularly numerous list of marine officers, namely, a Grand-Admiral and nearly 100 Admirals, upwards of 200 Captains, with more than 100 persons ostensibly belonging to the civil administration of a fleet which did not number a dozen ships of war of any kind ready for sea.

The Spanish army, at this time, counted on paper about 60,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry, including the 6000 Walloon guards, 11,000 Swiss, and 2000 Irish; but of these 14,000 men had been marched to the North of Europe, under Romana, and about 15,000 or 16,000 had accompanied Junot for the conquest of Portugal. The strong places were all in the worst condition. Of those opposite Gibraltar, that old Spanish sore, Ceuta was ill supplied with magazines and only half garrisoned; and in the camp of St. Roche there were only 8000 or 9000 men. The whole of the Royal army, except the guards, was ill clothed, ill supplied, under great arrears of pay, and without military training or military spirit, *un corps sans âme*. Yet there was a great supply of officers. A Generalissimo and five Captains-Gerent, nearly 500 General officers, and some 2000 Colonels!

Nevertheless, the Spaniards, as a nation, have every requisite in their character for the purposes of war. High-minded, yet submissive to lawful authority; abstemious, and contented with the simplest fare and clothing; they never murmur under fatigue or privation; brave, and capable of endurance, they are very rarely indeed given to desert their colours. Such were the men; but there never were such officers in any country that has ranked among civilised nations. The regiments resembled hollow trees, out of which the white ant had eaten the strength, but left the mocking bark. The greater portion of the superior officers only held honorary rank, and never joined their regiments; while subalterns might be seen waiting behind the chairs of the great in their uniforms, and even asking alms of the passers-by in the streets. The higher classes of the Peninsula, both male and female, had, at this time, so widely degenerated, that shame of every kind had ceased amongst them, yet the peasantry had partaken very little of the national degeneracy. They were devoutly and proudly attached to their country, boasting

it to be above every other country in the world, and were of one heart and one mind in all that regarded their native honour. Spain was still, in its lower classes, the land of romance, of chivalrous gallantry, and of dance and song. The nationality of the Spaniards, and the geographical position of their country, to which that nationality is partly owing, still preserved many of the characteristics of the age of chivalry.

The simultaneous and unanimous decision to resist oppression manifested by the whole nation when Napoleon unmasked his designs upon their country—a universally-pervading sentiment that they would not, and therefore could not, be conquered—is a trait of strong patriotic feeling, which must ever remain an enduring monument of the solid qualities which belong to this grand old people.\*

### 1808.

1. COMMENCEMENT OF THE PENINSULAR WAR.—2. THE FRENCH SEIZE THE SPANISH FRONTIER FORTRESSES.—3. DISCOVERY OF THE DESIGNS OF NAPOLEON.—4. THE ROYAL FAMILY PREPARE FOR FLIGHT—TUMULT AT ARANJUEZ.—5. CHARLES IV. ABDICATES, AND FERDINAND VII. IS PROCLAIMED KING.—6. CHARLES AND FERDINAND REPAIR TO NAPOLEON AT BAYONNE.—7. INSURRECTION AT MADRID.—8. ABDICATION OF THE BOURBONS—JOSEPH BONAPARTE KING OF SPAIN.—9. THE SPANISH NATION RISE AGAINST THE FRENCH.—10. ADMIRAL ROSILY'S FLEET AT CADIZ SURRENDERS TO THE PATRIOTS.—11. DEPUTATION FROM THE SPANISH PATRIOTS RECEIVED IN LONDON.—12. FIRST COLLISION BETWEEN THE SPANIARDS AND FRENCH—SACK OF CORDOVA.—13. FRENCH REPULSED FROM VALENCIA—THEY INVEST ZARAGOZA.—14. INSURRECTION IN LEON—AFFAIR AT CABEZON.—15. BATTLE OF MEDINA DEBIO-SECO.—16. CAPITULATION OF DUPONT'S ARMY AT BAYLEN.—17. FIRST SIEGE OF ZARAGOZA.—18. A BRITISH EXPEDITION, UNDER WELLESLEY, ARRIVES IN THE PENINSULA.—19. COMBAT AT BOLICA—BATTLE OF VIMIERO.—20. CONVENTION OF CINTRA.—21. DE LA ROMAGNA'S ARMY ARRIVES IN SPAIN FROM DENMARK.—22. WAR IN SCANDINAVIA.—23. INTESTINE WAR AT CONSTANTINOPLE.—24. INTERVIEW BETWEEN NAPOLEON AND THE CZAR AT ERFURTH.—25. NAVAL WAR—CRUISE OF ADMIRAL GANTHEAUME.—26. RUSSIAN AND SWEDISH FLEETS IN THE BALTIC.—27. BRITISH SINGLE SHIP AND BOAT ACTIONS.—28. COLONIAL WAR.—29. PENINSULAR WAR.—30. BATTLES OF ESPINOSA, BURGOS, AND TUDELA.—31. NAPOLEON DEFEATS THE PATRIOTS AT SOMO SIERRA, AND ENTERS MADRID.—32. SIEGE OF ROSAS—BATTLES OF THE LLORREGAT AND ULLES.—33. BRITISH ARMY, UNDER MOORE, COMMENCES ITS RETREAT.—34. NAPOLEON ADVANCES AGAINST IT FROM MADRID.—35. BRITISH CAVALRY AFFAIR AT BENAVENTE.

\* Thiers; Southey; "Modern Traveller," &c.

## 1. COMMENCEMENT OF THE PENINSULAR WAR.

ALTHOUGH these "Annals" are expressly precluded from recounting the causes of war—and it is not particularly necessary that the steps which led to that of the Peninsula should be stated at length—still a brief summary may be required to connect the chain of events. It is melancholy to see the laurel-crowned hero of Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, and the conqueror of half the globe, descending to the meanest intrigues and subterfuges, in order to obtain possession of the yet remaining kingdom of the Continent which had not succumbed to his sword. But the insatiate appetite of French conquest was never to be satisfied, without possession of the Peninsula. Without going back to the treaty of the Pyrenees, Prince Talleyrand had, as early as July, 1806, let fall, in conversation with an English diplomatist, that the army for the invasion of Portugal was already assembling at Bayonne, and it is to the influence and representations of that wily politician that history assigns the promptings, if not the machinations, that preceded the war we have now to narrate. The Spanish Royal family was at this period divided and distrusted to a degree unprecedented, even in that most fertile soil of intrigue and crime. The King, not destitute of good qualities, was indolent, and, like many who sit upon an autocratic throne, ready to surrender himself, without scruple, to the direction of men who, taking all trouble off his hands, would leave him to his pursuits and pleasures. Charles IV. had a favourite minister, Emanuel Godoy, Prince of the Peace, who was, at the same time, the minion of his Queen, a woman of spirit and capacity, but sensual and corrupt. A blue-blooded nobility regarded this influential upstart with undisguised aversion; but the Spanish Court, and, indeed, it is to be feared, the whole Spanish nation, with the exception of the peasantry, was at this period so sunk in the very lowest depths of dissoluteness and corruption that the tie between the Queen and Minister was not an object of public reprehension; for the King himself lived openly with a mistress who had brought him several children, and the royal blood of Spain was a heterogeneous mixture, the result of every species of adulterous and even incestuous intercourse. The high nobility, indeed, were a degenerate race, but the "bold peasantry, a country's pride," with a somewhat purer morality, was as fine a race as any in Europe, and quite equal, as was afterwards proved, to maintain the independence of their country. Don Manuel Godoy, though of a family of noble origin, was of such low parentage as to have been a private in the King's Body Guard, where her Majesty "blest the promise that his form portrayed," and in five years exalted him to great power, had him created Prince of the Peace for negotiating the treaty of Bâle in 1795, and married him to a niece of the King. Godoy was at this time still further advancing his ambition by the union of a daughter of this marriage to the King of Etruria. But, if the nobility looked askance at such an *intruder*, the son of the King, the heir-apparent of the Monarchy, was less likely to tolerate the presumption of an adventurer.

who disgraced the character of his mother, assumed an equality with himself, and supplied the prodigality in which he indulged by the open sale of public offices, and by the receipt of bribes of every description. Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias, who had recently lost his wife, a princess of the Neapolitan house of Bourbon, was at this time four-and-twenty years of age. Brought up in the strictest principles of the Roman Catholic Church, he was entirely under the influence of his confessor, the Canon Escoiquiz, but the Duke del Infantado, the Duke de San Carlos, and other influential nobles, espoused his party.

To avail himself of a condition of things so well suited to his purposes, Napoleon sent Eugène Beauharnais to Madrid, as his ambassador. By his suggestion, Ferdinand was induced to aspire to a matrimonial alliance with the Imperial family, and, with that object, was induced to solicit it in an autograph letter to the French ruler, couched in very humble terms.

While Escoiquiz held this thread of intrigue in his hand, without the knowledge of king or favourite, Godoy had sent a creature of his own, one Izquierdo, to France, to negotiate the famous treaty of Fontainebleau, which was to secure for the favourite a portion of the spoils of the partition of Portugal for an independent sovereignty — a scheme which was likewise carried on in secret at the same moment, without the knowledge of the Spanish Ambassador at Paris. By the terms of this convention, a French army was to be permitted to traverse the Peninsula to Lisbon, at the cost of the Spanish Government, while two Spanish corps were to take possession of those portions of the annihilated kingdom which were to fall to the lot of Godoy and the King of Etruria.

So many intrigues could scarcely remain long concealed, and Izquierdo, getting scent at Fontainebleau of the matrimonial letter addressed by the Prince of Asturias to Napoleon, denounced it to Godoy. The favourite saw at once the danger to himself of this admission of the Heir-Apparent to an alliance with the family of the great disposer of honour, since he knew how large a score of grievances remained to be settled with that Prince, all which might be brought by this new influence to mar his own ambition. He, therefore, advised the King to take the bold step of arresting his son. His Majesty, accordingly, on the 29th of October, committed Ferdinand a close prisoner to the Escorial, on a charge of high treason, for presuming to contract a family alliance without the consent of the Crown. The royal prisoner was actually deprived of all his attendants, and surrounded by sentries; and, at the same time, a seizure was made of all his correspondence. In the mass taken possession of there was, of course, found information relative to all the intrigues in progress, which afforded Godoy the golden opportunity of utterly ruining him in public opinion; and the Queen, hating him with all the rancour of an adulterous mother, would not have been sorry had his unpopularity led to his death. The Prince of Asturias was conscious of this, and, justly alarmed for his life, he hastened to reveal, in a private interview, the names of all the

parties, not excluding even the French Ambassador, who had been privy to the various proceedings. These revelations, however, were so extensive that they embarrassed the favourite, for he was not certain how far the French Emperor had himself entered into these projects, and all his own hopes were centred on the consummation of his advancement to a throne, by carrying out the treaty of Fontainebleau. Napoleon, on the other hand, was secretly rejoiced to learn that father, son, and favourite were all embroiled together, and, while he professed to have nothing to do with the domestic concerns of the King of Spain, he secretly aided the cause of the Prince, who was accordingly pardoned and released.

## 2. THE FRENCH SEIZE THE SPANISH FRONTIER FORTRESSES.

During the progress of these events, Napoleon prepared and organized very considerable armies for the subjugation of the very State with which he was then negotiating as a friend and protector. The two *corps-d'armée* of Junot and Dupont, had been marched across the Pyrenees, and the former had already reached Lisbon. Dupont had crossed the frontier as the reserve of Junot, and, by the first days of January, had attained Valladolid, where he established his head-quarters, pushing forward an advance to Salamanca. A third army had now been formed to follow the first two, which was called *corps d'observation des côtes de l'océan*; this was placed under the command of Marshal Moncey. The head of this column crossed the Bidassoa on the 9th, and was directed to move by the coast and spread itself over the province of Biscay, in order to be ready to advance, when required, upon Castile. At the other extremity of the Pyrenean chain, the troops which had been sent out of Italy by direction of the Emperor now began to arrive, and composed, under General Duhesme, the army of observation of the Eastern Pyrenees. These troops were now moved forward. Early in February they were headed by two regiments of infantry forming the brigade of General Nicholas, who, under a false pretext, halted at Figueras, while the rest of the column pressed on towards Barcelona. The French General asked permission to quarter his troops in the citadel of San Fernando, which from weakness or treachery was granted, and next morning pursued his march with one regiment, while the other remained behind in assured possession of one of the most modern and best fortified frontier fortresses, which had been only garrisoned by some 300 men.

On the arrival of Duhesme's division at Barcelona, it was given out that it was to proceed to Valencia, and, on the 15th, the troops were under marching orders, and were formed up for inspection upon the glacis of the citadel. All the idlers of the city were present to witness this review and hear the music, when, suddenly, two companies, on the right, divested themselves of their packs and haversacks, and, covertly marching to the rear of the line, suddenly turned in at the gate of the citadel, and seized the drawbridge before it could be raised. General Lechi, commanding the Italian

division, arrived at the same moment, at a gallop, with his staff, announcing a visit to the Commandant. In a short time the French were masters of the fort. This is a regular pentagon, of no great antiquity, at the north-east of the town, having on the south an inaccessible tower, on a rock, called Mont-Jouic. General Duhamel, without a moment's delay, repaired thither, and, descending at the quarters of the Count d'Espeleta, the Captain-General of the Province, astounded His Excellency by saying : "Mes soldats occupent votre citadelle ; ouvrez moi à l'instant les portes de Mont-Jouic : car l'Empereur Napoléon m'a ordonné de mettre garnison dans vos forteresses. Si vous hésitez je déclare la guerre à l'Espagne, et vous serez responsable, envers votre Prince et votre nation, des torrens de sang que votre résistance aura fait couler." The old General, who had received express directions on no account to compromise his nation with the French allies, alarmed at the use of Napoleon's name, timidly or corruptly yielded, and the capital of Catalonia was occupied without a blow.

It was on the very same night that the same game was played out at the Spanish fortresses on the western frontier. Three battalions under Brigadier Darmagnac entered Spain by the pass of Roncevalles, and were received at the gates, and duly billeted in the town of Pamplona as friends. The important citadel of this place was garrisoned by 700 men, under the Marquis de Valle Santoro. It was full of every kind of requisite of war, and, accordingly, the French soldiers were admitted, but only in fatigue dress, to obtain their rations within the citadel, together with the rest of the garrison, but the Spanish Commandant always took the precaution of raising the drawbridge when the foreign soldiers were inside. It was necessary, therefore, for the French Commander to have recourse to a trick to obtain possession. Darmagnac took a lodging designedly upon the open space which separates the town from the fort, and, on the night of the 15-16th, he introduced 100 grenadiers into his house, who entered it, after nightfall, one by one, with only their muskets and sidearms. At 7 in the morning, the soldiers were sent, as usual, to receive their rations in the citadel, accompanied by their Colonel, Robert, a man of intelligence and energy. It happened to be a very wet morning, and, under the pretence of awaiting the arrival of their Quartermaster, these soldiers lolled about the approaches, some on the drawbridge, some with the guard in the guard-room. Upon a given signal, they rushed to the arms-rack, seized the Spanish soldiers' muskets, and knocked down the sentries with the butt-ends ; they then lowered the drawbridge, so as to admit, at the same moment, the grenadiers from Darmagnac's house, who assailed the interior of the citadel. The united force had little difficulty in securing a bastion, armed with 15 guns, which commanded the entrance and the ditch, so that the French General was in possession of the ramparts before the Spaniards could, individually, shake off the French soldiers, who held them fast. Darmagnac then proceeded to announce to the Viceroy, that, as his division would be obliged to

remain at Pampeluna for some days, it was necessary for the safety of his men that they should hold the citadel in concert with the garrison, but that it would not make any difference in the alliance between the two countries, or in the intercourse and friendship of the soldiery themselves. It had been a kind of proverb in Spain, since Cisneros dismantled Navarre, that "the possessor of Pampluna is master of the province, and the possessor of the citadel is master of Pampluna." If so then the French General had already secured Navarre.

But the game, which had been hitherto so successful, had still to be played out through the province. At San Sebastian, where Brigadier Thouvenot was sent to establish a dépôt, to which the stragglers of all the French regiments, as they entered Spain, were ordered to repair and report themselves, a very numerous force was assembled and organised, and, in a very short time, they were sufficiently strong to overcome the two Spanish regiments which formed the garrison. The Duke de Crillon, the Governor, won over, it is feared, at once gave in, on the sole condition that the keys were to be restored to him, if his conduct should not be approved by the King. Thus were occupied, by the treachery and artifice of the French, the four important frontier towns of Spain, commanding the great roads leading from Perpignan and Bayonne into Catalonia, Navarre, and Biscay; namely, Figueras, Barcelona, St. Sebastian, and Pamplona.

Napoleon, like all great conquerors, considered that success in war justified anything, even though accomplished through deceit and violence; yet, with this flagrant example before them, French writers are found to waste their indignation on the English for taking possession of the Danish fleet; nevertheless, in justice to the Emperor, he did not trouble himself with any elaborate justification of this conduct, but proceeded to the further means of successfully working out his designs. He had formed his camps in a kind of echelon, extending as far back as the banks of the Loire. Orders were issued, in the month of March, that these should all move forward. Darmagnac, therefore, made way for General Merle with his division from the Bidassoa, and the troops from Orleans and Poitiers marched up to Bayonne. Marshal Bessières was sent down to take the command of all the scattered forces which had entered the Western Pyrenees, already numbering about 25,000 men. Nor did the ever-thoughtful Emperor sleep a moment upon his first successes. A degree of activity and vigour was suddenly seen to displace the silent grandeurs of all the *Caminos Reales* that debouch from the Pyrenees. Rations of biscuit, promptly baked in all these frontier fortresses, were forwarded, and means of transport were organised for their advance to the most forward posts occupied by the French troops; the convents, in the large towns, were unscrupulously emptied of their idle occupants, and converted into barracks, hospitals, and arsenals — French commandants everywhere superseded the Spanish officials, who, being wholly left without instructions, quietly gave up their authority, and rested in a sort of trance of astonishment at the progress of these usurpations. It was needful, however, to make

all these isolated successes work to one common result; and, accordingly, the Emperor fixed his eye on Murat, to proceed to the Peninsula as Commander-in-Chief. The Grand-Duke of Berg had formed a sort of friendship with the Prince of the Peace, and it was thought that, while this would disarm the favourite, the frank, soldier-like bearing of the man would attract and gratify the people. Without a word of consultation or instruction, Murat received orders, in the night of the 20th of February, to proceed to Bayonne, and, without waiting to collect a staff, or even to provide his horses, his habitual deference for his mysterious brother-in-law expedited him, the same evening, upon his errand. He "found confusion worse than confounded" at Bayonne. Full of conscripts, men without military discipline; artillery, bread, shoes, and all supplies, collected without arrangement or transport; and the *munitions de bouche et de guerre*, ordered for Junot's army, clashing with what had been supplied for Marshal Moncey's troops. The Marshal Grand-Duke knew the Emperor too well to pass over this without attention, and stopped at Bayonne till the 10th of March, to bring this chaos into order, and thence proceeded to Vittoria and Burgos, where he arrived on the 13th. Here he received the further orders of the Emperor, who had replied to his earnest inquiries as to what was the Imperial policy, "Le reste ne vous regarde pas, et si je ne vous dis rien, c'est que vous ne devez rien savoir." He was ordered to put his army in motion, on the 19th or 20th, in two columns, Moncey by way of Somo-Sierra, and Dupont by way of Segovia, so that both should be at Madrid about the 22nd or 23rd. In the meantime, Napoleon ordered forward his Guard, the sure presage of his own intention to repair in person into the Peninsula, and these, under Marshal Bessières, were already in movement from Bayonne by the middle of April.

### 3. DISCOVERY OF THE DESIGNS OF NAPOLEON.

The Minister-favourite awoke from his illusive dream of ambition like one on the morning succeeding a debauch. He saw confusedly an enemy in every corner, the kingdom overrun with French troops, living at free quarters, and the frontier fortresses already in their possession. The treaty of Fontainebleau had become a dead letter even before it was ratified, and the provinces which he thought were to have formed his sovereignty were already occupied by Junot's *corps-d'armée*, without any reference whatever to him or his authority. There was no strength left in his bones, and he perfectly reeled when he reflected that the armies of Spain had been all clandestinely removed, under various pretexts, from the kingdom. Romagna was away on the shores of the Baltic, and the rest of the national forces were scattered, in small bodies, north and south on the frontiers of Portugal; while Prince Murat, with the title of Lieutenant of the Emperor, and with a French army, was advancing on Madrid. Izquierdo, the agent of Godoy, finding himself, for some time, laid aside at Paris, and unable to

penetrate the various negotiations, had returned to Spain on the 5th, bringing with him new propositions, which tended to the complete disruption of all his hopes, and contained a formal requisition made by Napoleon for the removal of the Spanish fleet to Toulon.

The Queen and Godoy were utterly astounded when they suddenly saw the abyss that yawned before them. The example of their kinsfolk of the house of Braganza, who, in their dilemma, had sought refuge from the ills that threatened them in Europe, by fleeing to their South American possessions, came naturally to the mind of the Royal Camarilla, and the idea was entertained (though sorely against the old King's wish, who was ready to sacrifice his honours, enjoyments, throne, and people to remain at home,) of removing the court to Mexico. The Prince of the Peace declared that he would rather carry off the King by force than await the arrival of the French armies at Aranjuez. To temporise, or perhaps the better to conceal this project, Izquierdo was sent back to Paris, on the 11th, ostensibly to discuss the new propositions of the French Cabinet, but there were now plenty of eyes and ears, which scrutinised and reported the sayings and doings of the Camarilla. The courtiers were seen to be busy packing up their valuables, although it was given out that the Court was only about to move into Andalusia. However, it had reached Paris that troops, with guns, were ordered to assemble in force, under Don Miguel de Cevallos, and that five frigates were preparing, in great haste, at Cadiz!

#### 4. THE ROYAL FAMILY PREPARE FOR FLIGHT — TUMULT AT ARANJUEZ.

It would be difficult to paint the excitement of the Spanish people as the circumstances which have been related came gradually to light. Corrupt as the Court and the aristocracy had become, to such an extent, indeed, as that every man and woman of the upper classes had their price, yet the humbler classes still possessed the ancient Castilian pride, and beheld, with ill-suppressed mortification, the furtive proceedings of an unscrupulous ally to deceive the nation, occupy their strong places, and live at their expense. But, when the truth transpired in the capital, that, instead of making resistance worthy of Spain, there was a packing-up at Aranjuez, and that the Court were about to abandon the kingdom in its extremity, and to remove to the colonies beyond sea, these people simply reasoned, that, if there was danger from French aggression, there was criminality somewhere in permitting these measures for entralling the kingdom to be hatched, and who so justly to be charged with any crime as the hated favourite and the Queen? This feeling had attained, indeed, to such a height, that when the Marquis de Caballero, the Minister of Police, was summoned to Aranjuez, on the 16th of March, to receive the favourite's last orders before the royal departure, he bluntly refused to execute them; and, in an open altercation with Cevallos, in presence of Godoy himself, the Foreign Minister protested loudly against the King's departure, and reproached the other ministers for their subservience to Godoy. The

of Asturias and his uncle, Don Antonio, even spoke of resisting a departure by force, and the Guards had expressed their ready to obey the Infant's orders to that effect. This soon became known, so that it was thought desirable to issue a proclamation in the name to calm the excitement, and to deny his intended departure. Nevertheless, the people flocked in crowds to Aranjuez Madrid, 8 leagues distant, and, collecting in front of the royal palace, called upon the King to show himself. Now was heard a unanimous cry, "*Muerra Godoy! Viva el Rey!*" A casual examination, which dropped from the heir-apparent on the morning of the 18th, that it was not his intention to accompany the King, settled the excitement; for, in opposition to the royal word, the people were visibly packed, and only awaited the arrival of the post. The crowds which now came in from the capital comprised soldiers, Walloon guards, and *gardes-de-corps*, who were not many. It so happened that, about midnight, a veiled lady was seen to come out of the palace of the Prince of the Peace on the back of an officer, and she was soon recognised as Dona Pepa his mistress, accompanied by her sister, Dona Josepha. The troops endeavoured to make way for them, the more they crowded upon them to scrutinise them more closely, and, in confusion, a shot was fired, no one ever knew whence or why. Instantly, all was tumult. The brother of the favourite, seeing his sister pressed upon, dashed forward on horseback at the head of his regiment, but his soldiers refused to follow him. The soldiers roughly collected arms and joined the people; the palace of the Queen was surrounded and assaulted, the apartments plundered, furniture broken and thrown out of the window: nevertheless, with something of their characteristic grandeur, the Spanish ladies, encountering the Princess of the Peace on the stairs, treated the virtuous wife, made way for her, and escorted her in safety to the royal palace. Godoy himself, however, was strenuously sought for, but could not be anywhere found. In the moment of alarm he was at table, but, hastily snatching up a loaf of bread in his hand, he had fled to the garrets, where he concealed himself for a considerable time.

A consternation at the King's Court may be imagined. The Queen, whose criminal partiality for Godoy made his safety uppermost in her thoughts, eagerly inquired after Emanuel, and shed many tears at the uncertainty that hung over his fate. The Duke of Asturias, at this moment, added to her mortification by manifested joy at his danger. The ministers who were in the confidence of the King, were not sorry at this opportunity of effecting his downfall, and counselled his immediate dismissal. The King, in order to gratify the public mind, issued a proclamation on the 19th, declaring his intention of himself commanding the forces, land and sea; and, accordingly, withdrew the appointment of alissimo and Grand-Admiral, which had long been enjoyed by the favourite. The night passed over in quiet, but, on the morning of the 19th, Godoy was discovered in a loft, where he had crouched

behind a quantity of mats. In this concealment he had passed 36 hours without food of any kind, and had only quitted it from excess of thirst, when he was seen by a sentinel. He was at once seized and beaten, and would have been stoned but that the Prince of Asturias in person answered for his trial before the Council of Castile. King Charles IV., always accustomed to act by the advice of his favourite, was at his wit's end when he heard of his capture and imprisonment, and went to every one he could to gather counsel. The Queen, satisfied about Godoy's safety, and now regarding the state of affairs as though it were the breaking out in Spain of the old French Revolution, proposed to her husband to abdicate in favour of the Prince of Asturias. An act of resignation was, accordingly, drawn up, and Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed, and welcomed by the people with the utmost joy. The new monarch's first act was to confiscate the property of Godoy, and to divide the offices he held amongst Escoquis, the Duke del Infantado, and his own retainers. He continued all his father's ministers about him, and, by their advice, despatched the same night the Duke del Parque to Murat, and the Dukes de Medina-Celi, de Frias, and Fernando-Nunez to Napoleon, to notify his accession to the throne.

The Grand-Duke of Berg arrived at El Molar on the 21st, where he received the news of what had passed at Aranjuez by a courier, who brought him a letter from the Queen of Etruria, the daughter of the abdicated King. She implored him secretly to come without any delay to the aid of her afflicted parents. He forthwith sent M. de Monthyon, one of his aides-de-camp, to ascertain the state of affairs at Aranjuez, and himself proceeded on his way to Madrid, which he entered on the 23rd, with all the state that Murat so loved to adopt. The Imperial Guard opened the march; and the Prince Marshal, surrounded by a most brilliant staff, and caracolling at the head of cavalry and infantry regiments, mixed with troops of horse-artillery, and with all the "pomp and circumstance of war," was conducted to the lately-vacated palace of the Prince of the Peace, in which he took up his quarters.

##### 5. CHARLES IV. ABDICATES, AND FERDINAND VII. IS PROCLAIMED KING.

On the day following the pompous arrival of the French army, Ferdinand VII. entered his capital, where, however, nothing had been prepared for his reception. But no preparations were needed to arouse Spanish enthusiasm for the Prince of their heart. Countless crowds preceded, surrounded, and followed the young King. The women from the windows showered kisses and flowers on his head; the men, throwing themselves before his horse, spread their cloaks on the way, and a display widely differing indeed from military pomp, but infinitely more moving, heralded the young King's approach. It must be confessed that these legitimate patriotic excesses were indeed mingled with those of a very doubtful character. Men with daggers in their hands vowed to plunge them

into the hearts of the King's enemies. Ferdinand was received at the royal palace by all the public authorities and by the whole diplomatic body, with the ominous absence of M. de Beauharnais, who did not appear in the circle; while Murat contented himself with being a mere spectator of the reception given to the King by his subjects. A popular effervescence is, however, always a standing menace to regular troops, and the Grand-Duke of Berg, as Lieutenant of Napoleon, was upon his guard, and ordered out his infantry with a numerous artillery to occupy the *Casa del Campo*, just opposite the royal palace.

Neither Murat nor Beauharnais dared to compromise themselves further in ignorance of Napoleon's opinions on the affairs which had taken place at Aranjuez, or of the ultimate objects of all which had occurred. The Grand-Duke of Berg remaining, therefore, wholly apart from King Ferdinand, was soon made the depositary of the secret aspirations of the fallen Sovereign and the Camarilla. On the 21st, a letter was addressed to him by King Charles for transmission to Napoleon, declaring his abdication to have been forced upon him, and throwing himself on the Emperor's protection. Murat afterwards received the most pressing solicitations addressed to himself by the old King and the Queen, imploring his influence on behalf of the Prince of the Peace. From his yearnings after a throne, the Emperor's brother-in-law was very much disposed to regard the young King as a personal rival, and he was, therefore, resolved to be in no haste to acknowledge him; but a singular opportunity brought them together. The Queen of Etruria contrived this occasion of their meeting, for when, one day, Ferdinand went to call upon his sister, he found Murat in her room. He was announced as "The King of Spain." The attendants, out of respect, immediately withdrew from the apartment, but the Grand-Duke did not advance a step to meet him, lest it might be supposed that he acknowledged his elevation to the crown. Ferdinand paused at this unexpected reserve, and his sister, to put an end to so awkward a scene, sat down to the piano! The King mechanically approached her, and Murat, bowing to the Queen, retired without a word.

The first care of Ferdinand had been to transmit to Napoleon a full account of his elevation. Fearful of offending the supreme arbiter of his fate in the slightest degree, he readily granted to the French military authorities everything they solicited:—all their requisitions for the support, clothing, or pay of the troops were carefully complied with, and no umbrage was even taken when General Grouchy was nominated Governor of Madrid. The Grand-Duke caused it to be privately intimated to Ferdinand that the most acceptable offering that could be made to the Emperor would be the sword of Francis I., which had ever since the battle of Pavia reposed in the *Armeria Real*, at Madrid. The Conde d'Altemira was immediately sent to Murat with this much-valued trophy, to lay it at the feet of the occupant of the throne of Valois. It was next intimated from the same quarter that, as the Emperor might be expected at Bayonne, it would be regarded as a compliment if Don Carlos, the King's

brother, could go to meet him there ; and Beauharnais, who had now got an inkling of the plot laid against the whole Royal family by Napoleon, advanced it a step by suggesting that Ferdinand himself should go as far as Burgos on the same errand ; but this proposal was too startling an innovation on the traditional royal reserve of the Spaniard to be at once adopted, and it was declined.

#### 6. CHARLES AND FERDINAND REPAIR TO NAPOLEON AT BAYONNE.

Napoleon received the account of the transactions at Aranjuez on the night of the 26th of March. He immediately resolved to send to Spain General Savary, who happened to have just returned to Paris from his embassy at St. Petersburg. To him he opened his mind without reserve, in order that he might convey his instructions orally to Murat. Savary had been his agent in many of his dark deeds ; amongst them, in the flagitious destruction of the Duke de Enghien, and he had lately acted a conspicuous part in the secret negotiations with Russia, since the peace of Tilsit. He was now sent to induce, by one means or another, the Spanish Royal family to proceed to Bayonne.\* On his road to Madrid he encountered at every post a courier from some of its members on the way with representations to the Emperor, and, although he had been expressly informed by his master that he did not intend to recognise Ferdinand as king, his first act on arriving at Madrid was to ask an audience of the young sovereign, and to compliment him with inquiries if his Majesty's sentiments towards France were the same as those of his predecessors. The ministers were delighted to concede the desire of the confidential servant of Napoleon, though he brought no credentials with him, for he had been found more open in conversation with those who had accosted him than the still more unapproachable Grand-Duke of Berg. Before he took leave, he apprised the rather astonished Court, that the Emperor was so deeply interested in Spanish politics, that he would leave Paris on the 2nd of April, to repair in person to Bayonne or Burgos. He more than insinuated, that if Ferdinand would avail himself of the opportunity of a personal conference, to recount the true story of the events that had happened at Aranjuez, and the assurance that he was in person desirous of amity with France, the Emperor would readily acknowledge him as King ; and, after upwards of an hour's audience, the artful General overcame the simple Ferdinand, who quitted Madrid on the 10th, with Savary himself, and commenced his ill-starred journey, which soon put an end, for a time, to his budding monarchy. Of course he did not find the Emperor at Burgos, nor could he learn any tidings of his expected arrival, but he was persuaded to continue his route to Vittoria, where Savary quitted him on the 12th, under pretence of going to inquire the causes of the Emperor's absence. Some of the greatest and best of the

\* Thiers.

Spanish nobility now used all their eloquence to deter Ferdinand from proceeding farther. Napoleon had, however, no sooner heard of his near approach, than he sat down to compose a letter, in which he artfully represented, that, with the sole desire of not meddling with the internal affairs of another state, he only desired to receive Ferdinand's own personal assurance of the voluntary abdication of Charles IV. to receive him as the legitimate King, and he threw out again the hint that the meeting might be productive of a matrimonial alliance between the two families. Savary was immediately sent back with this autograph letter to Vittoria, to deliver it from the Emperor to the King. He found the Court already much increased by a concourse of faithful servants of the monarchy, who had come to tender their advice to their young sovereign at this dangerous crisis. In vain, however, was it represented to his Majesty that it was contrary to every known etiquette for a Spanish sovereign to go to visit another sovereign beyond his frontier, that it was, moreover, a gross indignity to a King of Spain and the Indies to be surrounded in the place of his residence by French troops, which, as above stated, had been very improperly sent to Vittoria, under General Verdire, and mounted guard in his sight. Escoiquiz and Del Infantado induced the weak sovereign to disregard the voice of the old faithful councillors of the monarchy, and the departure of the Court was announced for the 19th. The strong good sense of the townspeople of Vittoria, however, echoed the advice of the nobility, and the peasantry, who had flocked into the city, cut the traces of the royal mules, and took them back to their stables. The Duke del Infantado addressed the crowd, and persuaded them to permit the mules to be again put to, and the ill-fated King took his departure from Vittoria, and crossed the Bidassoa on the 20th. The Castilian pride was wounded, when they found that Napoleon made no advances towards their King, and Urquiza, Hervas, Correa, de Alava, with the Duke de Mahon, the representative of the illustrious family of De Crillon, all implored Ferdinand to stop, and, so long as he was relieved from the urgency of Savary's solicitations, he promised to return.

The ministers of the King, under the presidency of his uncle, the Infant Don Antonio, remained at the capital, as a kind of Regency or Supreme Junta of Government, acting in the absence of the King. Before Ferdinand left Madrid, it had been represented to him how agreeable it would be to the Emperor if the Prince of the Peace might be released and sent to France, and the old King and Queen were incessant in their supplications in every influential quarter that this might be brought about. This unfortunate prisoner had been sent for safety to the palace of Villa Vicosa, under an escort of 200 horse, who treated him with very little respect or kindness. It was part of Napoleon's policy to entice Charles IV. to repair to Bayonne, as well as his son, that he might have them both as suitors before his supreme tribunal; but the old King would listen to no representation of the kind, until the favourite should be released. Murat, therefore, took the matter into his own hands, by

ordering a body of cavalry to proceed to Villa Vicoso to release the prisoner by force. The Marquis de Châstelar, who was in charge of the Guard, refused to give him up; but the Junta, to prevent a collision, sent down an order for his release, and he was brought to the French camp, a miserable spectacle of the reverse of human fortune. The proud voluptuary returned in the most miserable apparel, "unshaven and unshorn," with the marks of his late ill treatment fresh upon him, and the abrasions from his fetters unhealed. Murat had the generosity to feel for him, and, having ordered all his wants to be attended to, he sent him off to Bayonne under the care of one of his aides-de-camp. The dethroned sovereigns were now all eagerness to take the same road, that they might lay their griefs before the great arbiter of their fate. Having, therefore, carefully packed up the crown diamonds, they slept at the Palace of the Escorial on the 23rd, and, journeying along the great road to France, arrived at Bayonne on the 30th. The wretched scenes that were here enacted will be found related in all the histories of the period. They exhibit a melancholy picture of human degradation in the highest rank, unsupported by virtue and self-respect; but they do not enter into these "Annals," as they had no influence, one way or other, on the war.

#### 7. INSURRECTION AT MADRID.

Reports of the proceedings at Bayonne were transmitted by slow but faithful messengers into Spain, and roused the anger of the people. The French Commander-in-Chief took good care that nothing should be published in print in the capital, but rumours passed from mouth to mouth, and an universal agitation became the natural consequence. Every day the Puerta del Sol, or the great square of Madrid, into which opened the great streets, was crowded with angry multitudes. The appearance of a few dragoons, sent by Murat to keep down disorder, only added to the general rage and apprehension of ill. An order at this time arrived (ostensibly from Charles IV.) that the Queen of Etruria and the infant Don Francisco de Paolo, should be sent to join the Royal Family at Bayonne, and the Queen readily consented to go, but the Junta hesitated about sending the young Prince, a minor 13 years of age, and assembled in deliberation on the subject on the night of the 30th of April and 1st of May. The meeting was very numerous and stormy. A great many councillors were against consenting to the young Prince's journey, when the Minister of War, O'Farrell, showed them how impotent they were now already to oppose the French, but, as a compromise, a simulated refusal was made to Murat, who, on receiving it, declared that he would take the matter upon his own responsibility, and would despatch the young Prince on the 2nd. The intervening day was Sunday, and the greatest anxiety pervaded the thousands who had thronged to the capital, and who were *all day* eagerly on the watch for news from Bayonne, whence no *courier* had arrived for two days. The French garrison was ordered

to rest on their arms all night, but at early morning of the 2nd the Court carriages appeared ready to start, and at 9 o'clock the Queen of Etruria entered the first, with her son and daughter, and drove off. Her departure occasioned no great interest. But, while the other carriages lingered, it was reported that the young Prince had evinced great unwillingness to leave Spain, and was shedding tears. At this news the women loudly expressed their pity, and the men were already wound up to some act of desperation, when a young French officer, recognised as an Aide-de-camp of the Grand-Duke of Berg, appeared approaching the palace. The cry was immediately raised, "He is come to carry off our Prince," and he was accordingly hooted and stoned, and would have been torn to pieces but for the interference of the Guard. Murat saw the conflict from the windows of his palace and sent his picket to disperse the multitude, when one or two musket-shots brought the insurrection to a head. The people, with daggers, firelocks, old swords, and cudgels, ran upon the soldiery, but were driven back by well-directed volleys. On one side there was a hideous cry raised from a populace excited to fury, on the other side the sound of the trumpet and the drum. Murat was soon on horseback and in the very midst of the mêlée, and sent his orders to the distant troops on every side to enter Madrid. He soon cleared the space in front of the palace: cannon charged with grape swept the streets leading towards it, and while the cavalry of the Imperial Guard, under Dumesnil, charged down the broad Callé de Alcalá, the Polish lancers created a panic among the scattered people on foot by the reckless use of their weapon. Men and women in terror fled into houses, from the windows of which stones, and missiles, and even scalding water were thrown on the heads of the French horsemen. Some Mamelukes were particularly obnoxious to the Spanish of both sexes, who have an ancient hereditary animosity against Mahometans. There were Spanish troops in the barracks, with a considerable stand of arms, and the inhabitants called on the Junta to come to their assistance and to give arms to the people, which, at first, they refused to do; but, seeing how the French ill-used their countrymen, they at length joined the insurgents, headed by Don Louis Daoiz and Don Pedro Velarde, and the people harnessing themselves to the park of artillery near the Puerta de Fonkarral, and getting three of the guns into battery, commenced firing grape into the midst of the French soldiers. Brigadier Lepine, at the head of a column of infantry, promptly charged and carried the guns, and in the rush both the Spanish leaders were killed. This was the most important circumstance in the episode of the 2nd of May, for the blood here shed was the first that flowed in the Peninsular War, and it was awfully revenged upon the aggressors in the sequel. The contest, which had commenced about 10 o'clock, was terminated about 2, by the French soldiers capturing the arsenal containing the arms and cannon; but Murat, *Grand Sabreur, par excellence*, was not content with the mere establishment of order—he forthwith named a military commission at the

Hotel of the Post, before whom every inhabitant seized with arms in his hands was tried, and at once taken to the Prado and shot without mercy. This severity was long afterwards remembered, with the circumstance, not readily forgiven by so superstitious a race, that they were massacred without even the consolations of a priest.\* The people were, however, thoroughly cast down and terrified by this vigorous retaliation, and the Grand-Duke, without further delay, sent off all the Royal family, who were now eager to get away, including the tearful Infant Don Francisco de Paolo. The Junta was by this act deprived of its president, Don Antonio, and Murat demanded the post for himself, which the Supreme Junta unwillingly yielded; but their authority was soon afterwards superseded by a decree of Charles IV. appointing the Grand-Duke of Berg Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

The indignation which the massacre of the 2nd of May excited throughout Spain was indescribable. The intelligence passed from house to house, from village to village, from town to town, from province to province, and awakened a unanimous resentment, of a fervour almost unknown to history. Without chiefs, without any central authority, without the leadership of an individual or of a party, and without the aid of a free press, the flame spread as rapidly through the lonely mountains as in the crowded cities. Far from being intimidated at the hostile occupation of their capital and principal fortresses by a treacherous enemy, they were simultaneously, and altogether without premeditation, roused to the most vigorous and energetic exertions, that they might drive these usurpers out of their much-loved country.

#### 8. ABDICATION OF THE BOURBONS — JOSEPH BONAPARTE KING OF SPAIN.

Matters, in the meantime, proceeded to their consummation at Bayonne. Charles IV. having revoked his resignation of the crown of Spain, Ferdinand was again reduced to the condition of Prince of Asturias, and, in the unseemly disputes which took place between him and his parents, before the Emperor, his mother shamelessly announced to him, that, although he was her son, he was not the son of the King. A very few days brought all these things to their inevitable conclusion; both father and son were deprived of the crown, and the conqueror announced that he had selected one of his own family to be their successor upon the throne of Spain. As early as the 3rd of May, this intention was transmitted to the Council of Castile and the Indies, that they might make the formal

\* Did no evil genius whisper in the ears of Murat, as the volleys resounded to the palace in which he sat,

"Nec lex sequior ulla  
Quam necis artifices arte perire suâ?"

Surely these gory Spaniards rose upon his sight when, ten years later, he saw the muskets of the Neapolitan grenadiers levelled at his heart, in the castle-yard of *Pizzo, in Calabria*.

demand of a Bonaparte for their sovereign, in the vacancy of the throne by the resignation of the Bourbons. The Marquis de Caballero became, in consequence, the mouthpiece of that body, who declared that, in the event of the actual renunciation of Charles and Ferdinand, they did not see a better hope for Spain than for a Prince of Napoleon's family. Still the Emperor was in doubt which one of his brothers to name, for Louis, unhesitatingly, declined his offer, and Lucien, in the recent interview he had had with Napoleon in Italy, had even refused the offer of the hand of Ferdinand for his daughter; Joseph was appealed to, and the throne of Spain offered instead of that of Naples, but the whole month of May wore away before the elder brother either replied or appeared to the summons. At length, his approach was announced, and Napoleon, who was still at Bayonne, at once issued a decree, on the 7th of May, proclaiming Joseph King of Spain and the Indies, and, on the same day, went out to meet him on the road with all his state. With the accustomed energy and activity of the Imperial mind, he had employed these three weeks of suspense in preparing to give due *éclat* to the succession, by summoning out of Spain all the grandees, who would come on his invitation, to form a Junta, which should resemble the Council of the Indies, and confer a sort of legality on this delegation of the sovereign power. The Dukes of San Carlos, de l'Infantado del Parque, de Frias, de Hijar, and de Castel-Franco, the Counts of Fernando-Nunez, d'Orgaz, and Cevalloz, the Ministers of War and Finance, O'Farrell and d'Azarza, all attended the summons, and assembled to pay homage to King Joseph, on the 15th of May, when they were convoked in a solemn assembly, of which d'Urquijo was Secretary, to determine the new constitution on which Spain was to be henceforth governed. This was afterwards promulgated on the 7th of July, in a solemn assembly, presided over by Joseph on his throne. On the 9th, escorted by the Emperor as far as the frontier, the new King entered Spain, and repaired to the capital; and, on the 20th, the arduous task of king-cashiering and king-making having been now accomplished, Napoleon returned to Paris.

The conqueror saw very clearly that his acts had been throughout too unjustifiable to meet with the approbation of the world, however much he might esteem himself its master; but he was scarcely prepared for the outburst of resistance which followed, nor did he deem that the cry of the lowest classes of the people, in the most passive and backward nation of Europe, would form the thin end of the wedge that should overturn his omnipotence. Far, however, from dreading injury to his power from this source, he set his mind, with all its wonted energy, to work to clear the way for the military occupation of Spain. His first thoughts were directed to rendering impotent the poor remains of the Spanish army, and he, accordingly, wrote to Murat, that General Solano should be ordered to march away the troops which were in Madrid to the camp of San Roch, before Gibraltar, and the remaining divisions to the Portuguese frontier. He directed him to take all the Swiss Guards

of the late monarchy into French pay; but, doubting whether these mercenaries might be *d'un courant d'opinion française*, or *d'un courant d'opinion espagnole*, he ordered the regiments to be separated, and one to be attached to Dupont's army, and sent to Talavera, and the others to Cartagena and Malaga; he, at the same time, expressed his will that Dupont should be sent to Cadiz to protect the fleet of Admiral Rosily in that port, and that Junot should be ordered to displace the Spanish divisions, by sending French troops to garrison Almeida and Elvas, in order to be prepared for whatever might happen in North Castile or Andalusia. He desired that the Spanish garrisons in the Balearic Islands might be left there, and even strengthened, in order to lessen the amount of national troops on the mainland, and all, that could not be otherwise better disposed of, were to be sent along the high roads to France, with the expressed object of joining the Marquis de la Romana, in the north, in an expedition against the British. He also bethought himself of the wretched remains of the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, Ferrol, and Cartagena, and directed that such ships of war as might be seaworthy should repair to the Spanish colonies, in order to save them from seizure by the English, and to form part of the grand scheme he meditated, of employing all the fleets of Europe to annihilate the "ships, colonies, and commerce" of his yet formidable rival.

#### 9. THE SPANISH NATION RISE AGAINST THE FRENCH.

The Spanish nation, however, was not reduced to subjection by the base conduct of its pusillanimous Royal family and abject nobility. The public mind of Spain had continued in a ferment ever since the horrid massacre of the 2nd of May, and commotions and tumults had arisen in various places; but when it transpired, on the 20th, that the ancient crown of Spain had been abdicated in favour of the Bonaparte family, there was a great and general explosion among all classes of the kingdom. It happened that just about the time this became known (the 27th of May) fell St. Ferdinand's Day; and the idea that Ferdinand VII. was their last king, awakened all the sensibility of a nation so ardent, so heroic, and so enthusiastic as that of Spain. It may be said that the unfurling of the flag of Spanish independence dates from that anniversary.

The first effect of the general defection was the desertions from the army. Every night 300 or 400 men deserted from the barracks of Madrid. The Gardes de Corps, who were still on duty at the Escurial, melted away in dribs and drabs, three or four at a time, so that, in a very few days, there was not one left. The same occurred at Barcelona, Burgos, Corunna, &c. The troops in Andalusia remained, however, compact, and the army, commanded by General Castaños, amounting to 25,000 men, became a rallying point for *many of those* who got safely across the Sierra Morena. This

dereliction of military discipline might possibly have been stayed by the firm hand of Murat, but the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom was, at this moment, on the bed of sickness, and so strongly persuaded that he was dying, that he neglected all public affairs.

It was in the Asturias, at the extreme north of the Peninsula, that the first overt acts of rebellion took place. The Governor-General Florez-Estrada, had escaped from Bayonne, and returned to Oviedo, where he arrived on the 9th, and related to his Junta all that had happened there. He brought with him a proclamation (said to be an invention of the enemy), in which Ferdinand, their Prince, appealed to his countrymen for assistance. As soon as this was noised abroad, the arsenal was pillaged, and the people armed themselves, but no blood, as yet, flowed. At Santarem, 20 leagues distant, the Bishop put himself at the head of the movement, and, on the 27th, made a call on the mountaineers of his diocese to rise to arms. The next excitement occurred at Corunna, where the feast of San Fernando was usually kept in especial state. The Captain-General, Filangieri, a Neapolitan, but greatly respected among the Spanish population, was called upon by them to head the movement, and he forthwith ordered back the soldiers, who were on the Portuguese frontier, under General Taranco, while he embodied the peasants with the regular troops, in order to organise an efficient military body for the defence of the province. In the adjoining province of Leon, Marshal Bessières had his headquarters and was in force with the French Imperial Guard; nevertheless, the people could not be restrained, but called upon the Captain-General, Don Gregorio de la Cuesta, to put himself at their head. This veteran soldier was not rash enough to brave the French, who were so near him, and was, indeed, by disposition, averse from bending to the influence of a mob, so that he first endeavoured to temporise; but the people raised a gibbet in the very front of his palace at Valladolid, and the hint was too significant to be despised. Don Gregorio de la Cuesta would, however, by swinging upon it, have done more good to the cause, than by assuming a command for which he was unfit. The universal rising caused a mutiny amidst the garrison of Badajoz, on the 30th, when the insurgents seized the Governor, dragged him to the gate, and destroyed him. Lieutenant-General Solano, Marquis del Sorocco, was Captain-General of Andalusia, and Governor of the city of Cadiz. He had been summoned to Madrid to cover the flight of Charles IV. when he meditated the transfer of the Court to Seville. When at Madrid, he had been afterwards won over, to the side of Napoleon, and was sent back post haste to Cadiz, when a suspicious correspondence had been discovered between the disaffected there and the British authorities, naval and military, at Gibraltar. On the 29th, an immense multitude assembled around the palace of the Governor, who appeared on the balcony, and tried to convince the people of their folly in attempting to resist the power of Napoleon.

They answered him by a demand for arms and ammunition, which he was, in the end, obliged to give them. They then forced the guard, seized Solano himself, and dragged him into the street, where he injudiciously declared aloud, "that he was ready to die in the cause of the great Napoleon." On hearing this, the people rushed upon him, and dashed out his brains with clubs.

But they had not waited for the fête of San Fernando to rise in the rich and populous city of Seville. A conspiracy, headed by the Count de Tilly and Tap-y-Nunez, organised a rising for the 26th, and, seizing the Hôtel de Ville, installed a Junta, which, with something of Castilian arrogance, they styled "Supreme Junta of Spain and the Indies." The municipality, who had, on the outbreak of the tumult, abandoned their town-hall to the insurgents, endeavoured the next day to open negotiations with them, and intrusted their chief, the Conde del Aquila, with the mission. This noble emissary was immediately seized, tied to the balustrades of the staircase, and shot. In the midst of the terror and general enthusiasm of their assumed authority, the "Supreme Junta" decreed, on the 6th of June, a declaration of war against France, and a general levy of all men between the ages of 16 and 40; also that commissioners should immediately proceed, on their authority, to invite the Juntas of Badajoz, Cordova, Jaen, Grenada, and Cadiz, to concur with them in their proceedings, in proclaiming Ferdinand VII. They also boldly called on General Castaños, and the army in the camp of San Roque, to come to their aid, and conferred on him the command of their armies, while, at the same time, they nominated Thomas de Morla, a popular demagogue, and influential with the multitude, to be the Captain-General of Andalusia, in the place of Solano. The principal towns and provinces sent in their adhesion to the "Supreme Junta," but Cordova nominated to the command of their own mountaineers Augustin de Echavarri, an officer who had been employed by the old Government to look after smugglers in the valleys of the Sierra Morena, and who may be regarded as the first of the independent warriors who afterwards became so celebrated in partizan enterprises, the Guerillas of the Peninsula.

Similar scenes were exhibited in every part of the kingdom. Cartagena was early alert, and despatched Admiral Salcedo to endeavour to recover the fleet which had been so deceitfully sent away to Toulon. Valencia, Castillon de la Plana, Tortosa, Tarragona, and all the towns on the Mediterranean seaboard, declared for Ferdinand VII.; and last, not least, must be named the city of Zaragoza. Here the Captain-General, Don Juan de Guillermi, who was too timid to take a lead, was at once deposed, and in his office was installed the celebrated Joseph Palafox de Melzi, nephew of the Duke of that name, a handsome young man of 28 years of age, who had the reputation of having resisted the adulterous advances of the shameless Queen, and to have personally attached himself to Ferdinand, in whose suite he had even followed him to Bayonne, where he witnessed, with indignation, the treatment of his

Prince at the hands of the Conqueror ; he had since returned to his native city with full accounts of all that had there occurred, and with unmitigated hatred towards the tyrant who had abducted his sovereign. He at once accepted the responsibility of the high office to which his fellow-townsmen had now nominated him, and prepared boldly for resistance.

#### 10. ADMIRAL ROSILY'S FLEET AT CADIZ SURRENDERS TO THE PATRIOTS.

Lieutenant-General Sir Hew Dalrymple in the government of Gibraltar, and Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Cotton on that station, as well as Admiral Lord Collingwood, Commanding-in-Chief the British fleet off the coast, did not fail to improve every opportunity of assisting the national cause of Spain. They communicated with De Morla and Castaños, in all matters connected with the civil and military administration, and now offered their services for the capture of the French fleet in the port of Cadiz, but the new Captain-General very judiciously preferred that this important act should be, as much as possible, the achievement of the Spaniards themselves. As soon, however, as a knowledge of the events which had occurred in Andalusia reached Admiral Rosily, he removed his fleet, consisting of "Le Neptune," 80, "L'Algeziras," 74, "L'Argonaute," 74, "Le Héros," 74, "Le Pluton," 74, the frigate "La Cornélie," and a brig-corvette, beyond the range of the batteries of the town, and took up a defensive position in the channel leading to the Arsenal de la Carraca, for a British fleet of ten sail of the line cruised outside the harbour, and effectively prevented all escape. On the 9th, batteries, which had been erected on the Isla de Leon, opened on the French fleet at this anchorage, and, at the same time, Spanish gun and mortar-boats were sent up against it, when a mutual firing, without much result, lasted throughout the day. On the 10th, the cannonade recommenced, when, about mid-day, "Le Héros" hoisted a flag of truce, and Admiral Rosily sent in a letter to the Governor-General, offering terms. These were not deemed admissible, and the Spaniards prepared to renew the attack with an increase of force. A battery of 30 long 24-pounders, and numerous armed vessels, were provided, and, on the 14th, were just ready to open, when the French Admiral submitted unconditionally, and surrendered the fleet, with 4000 seamen and marines, to the Spanish authorities. The red and yellow flag was immediately hoisted on all the captured ships.

#### 11. DEPUTATION FROM THE PATRIOTS RECEIVED IN LONDON.

Information was received by the British General at Gibraltar that an advance of French troops threatened Spain from the side of Portugal ; and Major-General Spencer, with a small detachment, was forthwith expedited in three ships, under Admiral Purvis, and landed at Ayamonte, on which the French immediately called in all

their forces to Lisbon. The sight of the British off their coast, however, roused the Portuguese, who had been quite as ready as the Spaniards to rise against the French authority, and who now solicited the protection of the fleet to cover their proceedings, which, on his own responsibility, the Admiral conceded. Lord Collingwood also communicated with the Balearic Islands and with all the Colonies of both Spain and Portugal, and he offered them the friendship and flag of Great Britain. Rear-Admiral Thornbrough was, at the same time, sent to preserve the Spanish fleet in Port Mahon from the machinations of the enemy.

On the 12th of July, the Government of Cadiz applied to Lord Collingwood for the use of a frigate, to conduct Commissioners appointed by the Supreme Junta to England, to appeal for British sympathy and aid, and, within two or three days after the French fleet had surrendered, General Morla, the Spanish Admiral, and others, set sail from Cadiz in the "Revenge" frigate, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 9th of July. But on the 9th of June, six gentlemen of the province of the Asturias, having at their head the Viscomte de Materosa and Don Diego de la Vega, had already arrived in London, with a petition addressed "To the magnanimous Monarch of Great Britain." To this letter, George Canning, the Secretary of State, replied on the 12th, assuring all parts of the Spanish Monarchy which shall be actuated by the same spirit as the province of Asturias, "of His Majesty's willingness to extend his support in granting assistance, in military supplies and otherwise, sufficient to protect them against any attempt which might be made by France to introduce troops into that country."

It would be impossible to exaggerate the enthusiasm and transport that reigned in Great Britain upon the first tidings of the rising of the people of Spain against the French. The deputies were received and splendidly entertained by the Corporation of the City of London; and by the principal Corporations of the kingdom, public bodies, and individuals of distinction, all affording them their hospitality and open countenance. Subscriptions were opened in all great cities; and the manufacturing, commercial, and other wealthy classes of the community gave freely in support of the cause of the patriots. Peace with Spain was publicly proclaimed on the 5th of July. All Spanish prisoners were liberated, clothed, and sent off to join their countrymen. The British arsenals were emptied to supply the warlike necessaries required; and on the 14th of July a league, offensive and defensive, between the nations of the Peninsula, in the names of Ferdinand VII. and with the Prince Regent of Portugal, was signed. The Parliament responded to the appeal made by the Juntas with an unanimity almost unprecedented, and liberal supplies were voted for the prosecution of the war amounting to a sum beyond all former years: besides all this, subsidies in money to the amount of 3,000,000*l.*, and warlike stores upon a princely scale of liberality, demonstrated the sincerity and energy of the British nation in the cause. The British Cabinet, under these circumstances, determined to send a military expedition to the Peninsula, to afford a nucleus

for a consistent and effectual opposition to the enemy in the field. Colonels Brown and Trant were sent to communicate with the insurgent leaders, and obtain information on the existing state of affairs ; and on the 30th of June about 8,000 troops of all arms were assembled, under Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, which embarked on the 12th of July, and Major-General Spencer was ordered to re-embark his division, and join Sir Arthur as soon as he learned that the place of debarkation was fixed upon. An additional division of 5,000 men, under Brigadier Ackland, were ordered, on the 15th of July, to get themselves in readiness to follow, and the Peninsular War was inaugurated.

## 12. FIRST COLLISION BETWEEN THE SPANIARDS AND FRENCH — SACK OF CORDOVA.

General Dupont marched from Toledo on the 24th of May with his division, to take the command of Andalusia, according to his instructions, and traversing the plains of La Mancha without any obstacle, he entered the defiles of the Sierra Morena in the full conviction that he should reach Cadiz on the 21st of June. An ominous silence reigned as well in the plains as in the mountains, and deserted villages here and there met the eye, from which the authorities and the inhabitants had fled. On arriving at Andujar, the General heard of the insurrection of Seville, and the installation there of a Supreme Junta to act in the name of the legitimate King. The high road to Cordova crosses the Guadalquivir by a bridge at this city, and, following the left bank 18 or 20 leagues, recrosses it at the Venta de Aloolea, where there is a fine bridge of 19 arches of black marble. The right bank is at this point loftier than its opposite, and here the French General found the Spanish patriotic force, under De Echevaria, prepared to oppose his march, having thrown up, in haste, a *tête de pont*, and established 12 guns in battery to enfilade the bridge. Dupont came upon this obstacle unexpectedly on the morning of the 7th of June, and, upon making a reconnaissance, saw before him a mixed array of several thousands, infantry and cavalry, troops, smugglers, and peasants. He immediately ordered the division Barbu to advance in columns of attack ; and the brigade of General Pannetier leading the way at once, escaladed the unfinished *épaulement* of the *tête de pont*. The Spaniards were driven across the bridge and into the village, but General Fresia at the same moment appeared in the rear of the French at the head of a brigade of cavalry. Dupont, taken somewhat aback at this apparition, sent forward a brigade of Swiss, under General Rouger, and a brigade of dragoons, under General Pryme, when Echevaria ordered a retreat, which, with such a heterogeneous mass, soon became a rout ; and guns, ammunition, and supplies were all abandoned, while the foot and horsemen fled to Cordova, to bar the gates, and barricade the streets. The French troops were not to be deterred by such obstacles from a rabble, and followed and daringly stormed the town, which was, however, well defended from street to street ; so that it was not until after a horrid

carnage that the Spaniards again fled to Ecija, a town on one of the roads to Seville, twelve leagues distant from the bridge where the fight commenced. Cordova was immediately given over to pillage, and the public buildings, churches, and even the splendid cathedral itself, were recklessly plundered of their sacred treasures.

### 13. FRENCH REPULSED FROM VALENCIA—THEY INVEST ZARAGOZA.

As soon as the insurrection at Valencia had been made known at Madrid, Marshal Moncey was directed to march with 6,000 men to Cuenca, on the road to that city, and, quitting Madrid on the 4th, arrived there on the 11th; but, instead of the preparations that had been ordered for his troops, he found nothing collected, and affairs in a very unpleasant position. The Spanish division ordered to join him here had altogether disbanded, and were already in arms against the French between Cuenca and Valencia. The Marshal had been directed to put himself in communication with General Chabran, who, with 4,200 men, had been ordered to Tortosa, to be at his disposition, if required. This state of things being made known to Murat, he despatched Brigadier Excelmans with a detachment of cavalry from Madrid, who, on the road, came to a misunderstanding with the patriots in the village of Salinas, near Tarazona, who were at once disarmed and sent prisoners to Valencia. The information derived from that city was very sad. Some 200 French merchants, residents there, had gone for refuge into the citadel, where the insurgents, headed by one Balthazer Calvo, a monk of San Isidore, seized them on the 5th of June, and put them all to death. The Marshal now learned that the Spaniards were posted in the mountains, near Requena, and, considering it requisite to collect all his force before attempting to force that pass, he remained at Cuenca till the 18th, arranging with Chabran to meet him before Requena on the 25th; but that General had been led away after insurgents as far as Castellon de-la-Plana, and, having found himself beset by the armed peasants, he had fallen back with difficulty upon Barcelona. Ignorant of this, Moncey arrived at Requena on the 20th, and the next day found himself in presence of an armed multitude posted behind the Cabriel at the bridge of Paynzo, near Minglanilla, where they had thrown up a rough earthwork, in which they had placed 4 guns. This river runs through a rocky defile, and it was most difficult to force a passage. The Marshal ordered forward Brigadier Couin, who had 2 guns and a howitzer, up the rocks, from which he opened fire in rear of the Spaniards, while two other detachments forded the river, and appeared at the same time on the enemy's flanks. Moncey now putting himself at the head of two battalions, carried the bridge, and the Spaniards, seeing their guns lost, fled to Las Cabrillas, where there is a path through the hill, fit only for goats, which opens upon La Veza de Requena. Here the insurgents were assembled in force, under Don Josef Caro, with 12 guns. On the 24th, at midday the French arrived in face of the position which had been assumed

at Venta-Quemada. The Marshal, as soon as he reconnoitred the ground, ordered Brigadier Harispe, his Chief of the Staff, to take with him the most active men from his force, and, relieving them of their packs, to despatch them on every side among the hills. The sight of these men leaping from rock to rock, and taking a deadly aim from the heights among the mass of soldiers and peasantry below, filled them with alarm, so that they scarcely waited for the advance of the main body, but fled in every direction. Moncey arrived before Valencia without further opposition on the 27th, and on the following day assaulted the gates, but without success, and with the loss of 300 of his men. The Junta, as soon as they heard of the rout at Las Cabrillas, called out the people to defend the city, and supplied them with arms. A strong battery of the artillery was established at Puerta de Quart, by which the French were expected to arrive. The water was let into the ditches, and the guns from the citadel directed upon the road of approach. General Caro took post at the sluices which held up the waters of the Guadalquivir, to defend the water-head against the French, but was constrained to give way, and fell back into the city, when he assumed the command with complete success. In the night, the Marshal, seeing the hopelessness of his task, ordered a retreat, and marched away from Valencia to face the Captain-General Cerbellon, who was posted on the banks of the Xucar with 7,000 or 8,000 men; and he reached that river on the 1st of July. He was not impeded in crossing it, and, accordingly, moved on to San Clemente, where he arrived on the 10th, and effected a junction with General Freire.

A division, under General Caulaincourt, had been sent up from Madrid, to reinforce General Chabran, but, on arriving at Cuenca, they heard of his departure for the north. In disappointment, that town was given up to two hours' pillage. These atrocious acts, in the end, cost an inconceivable number of French lives at the hands of the insurgents; for the events of the 2nd of May at Madrid, the sack at Cordova, and the sack of Cuenca united the Spanish nation in deadly hatred against the invaders, while it roused the desire of plunder in all ranks of the French army, from the Marshals to the drummers, and materially injured its conduct and discipline.

As soon as the news of these events reached Napoleon at Bayonne, he sent orders to General Lefebvre-Desnouettes to collect together from the vicinity of Pamplona some 4,000 men, and repair, without a moment's delay, to Zaragoza. He entered Tudela on the 7th of June, where he encountered 500 Spanish soldiers, under the Marquis de Lagan, elder brother of Palafox, who had destroyed the bridge, and now attempted to prevent the passage of the Ebro. The French had little difficulty in forcing their way as far as Mallen, which they reached on the 13th, and found Palafox in position at the head of 9,000 men and 8 guns, all mixed and undisciplined levies. Lefebvre, advancing on their flank, soon forced them to turn about and flee, when he sent after them a regiment of Polish lancers, who gave the fugitives no quarter. On the 16th, he arrived before Tara-

goza, and entered the city *pêle-mêle* with the fugitives, the battalion penetrating even to Santa Engracia; but they were perfectly appalled when they perceived the preparations made to receive them. Although there was great confusion, there was a unanimous spirit of resistance, and the regular troops could not stand against the shower of missiles which poured upon their heads. The General, seeing that he could effect nothing in the narrow streets of this old town without artillery of greater calibre than the light 4-pounders which he had brought with him, ordered his troops to fall back. The apparent retreat of the enemy added to the universal enthusiasm of the citizens, and Palafox made new dispositions to take every advantage of the circumstance. In order to gratify the impatience of the defenders, he placed himself at the head of as many as he could get into form, and quitted the walls to endeavour to make for the open near Belchite, where he also collected some of the scattered soldiers. He now heard that a corps of 3,000 or 4,000 Arragonese were advancing on the road from Catalayud, and he sent to Colonel Versquis, who was in command, to join him, but he found that they had already marched in another direction, to threaten the communications of the French with Tudela. They were, however, encountered on the 23rd by Lefebvre-Desnouettes, who drove them back on Catalayud, sorely diminished in number, and with the loss of their 3 guns. As soon as Palafox heard this, he re-entered Zaragoza on the 1st of July, well convinced that he should do better against the enemy behind stone walls than in the open country. Meanwhile, the French were preparing vigorous measures, and a siege train was forming at Pampeluna and Bayonne, with which General Verdier came up to Zaragoza on the same day, and took the direction of offensive operations. He had, however, but 8,000 men with which to undertake the siege, and therefore contented himself, at this time, with investing the city, which, by seizing the Monte-Torrero, and throwing a bridge over the river, he was enabled to complete by the 12th of July.

By the end of May, General Duhesme found himself completely shut up in Barcelona. He, nevertheless, in compliance with reiterated orders, sent out General Chabran with his division to lend a hand to Marshal Moncey. The insurgents kept vigilant watch over every movement of Duhesme's force to cross the Llobegret, and secure Montserrat. On the 5th, he sent General Schwarz with this object, who crossed that river, and reached the village of Bruch; but on a sudden the tocsin sounded, and armed multitudes covered the sides of the hills with marksmen, barricaded the villages, broke up the roads, and destroyed the bridges. The General could not stir a yard without a contest, and returned back to Barcelona on the 7th, with his men exhausted by fatigue. General Duhesme felt the essential necessity of exerting the high hand, and on the 10th put himself at the head of his troops, and cleared the country; thence having carried death and destruction among the insurgents, he returned to Barcelona, where the population, though somewhat awed, were by no means disposed to remain quiet.

## 14. INSURRECTION IN LEON — AFFAIR AT CABEZON.

To return to the north. Marshal Bessières had his headquarters at Burgos. The insurrection in the Asturias and Galicia had already attained consistency, and Napoleon had ordered the military possession of Santander, to restrain its progress. General Merle was sent there on the 2nd of June, but, on reaching Reynosa on the 5th, he was recalled in haste, for Valladolid was in a ferment. Bessières thought it of greater moment to hold this city, the seat of the Captain-General's government, and the stronghold of the priesthood of Spain, than a military post in the north, and, accordingly, had ordered General Lasalle to march with a division, which reached Torrequemada on the 6th, at nightfall. Here is a long bridge over the Pisuerga; and, while the French were going along it, a fire of musketry opened suddenly from every side; a passage was forthwith forced, and the bridge and city captured, pillaged, and burned. The effect of this severity was, that on the 7th, at Palencia, which Lasalle next entered, the inhabitants, headed by the Bishop, implored pardon. At Valladolid, in the meanwhile, affairs had become serious. Don Miguel de Cevallos had retired thither with some new levies from Segovia, whence the French had driven out a body of insurgents; but a suspicion of treason having been raised against the distinguished patriot, he was seized and murdered as he entered the city. This had such an effect on General Cuesta, the Captain-General, that, though unwilling to take the lead against the French, he now found himself constrained to head the insurrection. He accordingly collected 5,000 or 6,000 men, with some guns, and on the reported advance of General Lasalle to Merle, he sallied out of the city, and took up a position at Cabezon, two leagues in front of the city. Very stupidly, however, instead of forming up on the left bank of the Pisuerga, with the bridge across the river before him, he placed himself on the right bank, with the bridge behind him. The two French divisions in this district had effected a junction on the 11th, at Dueña, and were now sent forward to summon Cuesta to give way before them and lay down his arms. The poor Captain-General could not venture to surrender, and yet was in the very worst condition to fight. Accordingly, on the 12th, at early morning, Lasalle moved forward, and, with very little difficulty, forced his way into the city of Valladolid, Cuesta retiring with what troops he could collect on the road to Benevente, where he posted himself to collect fugitives and peasants behind the Esla.

The province of Galicia was already the dépôt of the arms, clothing, and accoutrements which had been sent out from England with Lieut.-Colonel Doyle and other British officers, who had arrived there to organise an army. The Captain-General, Don Antonio Filangieri, was old and unfit to respond to the call to arms made by unanimous consent in this province; he, therefore, made way for General Blake, a man of Irish extraction, but of some military experience, and who had recently been promoted by the King to the

rank of Marechal-de-Campo. A post was immediately assumed at Lago, where a camp was speedily formed, to which all the Spaniards who had been prisoners in England, and had been released, were now sent to be regimented. The Spanish troops, also, which had been sent to the north of Portugal under Napoleon's orders, were now drawn to the camp at Lago. It contained one particular regiment, known by the name of "Los Immemoriales," because its origin dated from the period of Ferdinand and Isabella; and there were other "crack regiments" of the old monarchy. Blake took the command of this army by the end of June, and effected a junction with Cuesta at Benevente on the 6th of July. The Spanish Generals gave out their intention of marching at once upon Valladolid.

#### 15. BATTLE OF MEDINA DE RIO-SECO.

Bessières was duly informed of all that had occurred in the north, and determined to anticipate this attack by advancing himself against the Spanish army, and, with this object, he quitted Burgos on the 9th of July, with the reserve of his army. He here united to himself the divisions Mouton, Lasalle, and Merle, forming an army of about 11,500 men, with 1,500 horse and 30 guns, and with this force marched out of Palencia at early morning of the 13th, to meet the enemy. The march was made in the dawn, because of the extreme heat, but at daybreak on that day he formed up his troops in line on the road-side, and went forward to reconnoitre the Spanish army, which was found to be in position at Medina de Rio-Seco, to the number of 30,000 infantry, with 32 guns and a small force of cavalry. This army, though numerically superior to the French, was one newly collected and very imperfectly organised, and it was a rash resolve to bring them into collision with the veteran battalions of France. Blake, indeed, urged his superior officer, Cuesta, to decline a battle and to fall back on the frontiers of Galicia, where Bessières would not venture to follow them under present circumstances. Cuesta, who had become a patriot against his will, was now unwilling to temporize, and, brave but headstrong, insisted on satisfying the general enthusiasm by advancing against the enemy, so that Blake was obliged to submit. The Spanish first line was formed on some steep hills in front of Medina, having their right towards Val de Nbro, with their cavalry in a narrow valley on their left towards Palacio, but the second line had not yet passed the Rio-Seco, and were composed of the best troops. Bessières, accordingly, determined to crush the first line before the second could come up, and he forthwith sent forward a regiment of cavalry under Lasalle to drive back the miserable force of Spanish horse in the plain, who, giving way and flying rapidly, he came direct upon the left flank of the Spanish front line, which he attacked. After a very slight resistance these gave way and retreated hastily down the scarped road leading into Medina. Here they came upon the second line marching into position, which Cuesta was hastening forward; these stopped and rallied the fugitives, who returned to occupy

the elevated ground, but found it already in possession of the division of General Mouton. The Spanish columns immediately deployed, and a good line was established on the hills, and the cavalry brought back to the left flank. Cuesta now took part with the right wing, and immediately went forward to the attack of the brigade Meunier, who had formed up before him with eight guns. The Spaniards attacked so vigorously that the French were driven down the opposite side of the slope, leaving five guns behind them. But, at the moment of this success, the division Merle penetrated, by the aid of a cattle-path, between the two wings of the Spanish army, and threatened their line of retreat. Cuesta was, accordingly, obliged to withdraw his troops across the Rio-Seco, but he still maintained himself in the enclosed fields and gardens in front of Medina, when Lasalle, crossing the brook with the cavalry, again threatened the line of retreat by the roads to Palazuelo and Villafrescos. Upon this the entire army hastened to get away, pursued and seriously injured by the French cavalry, and at the same time sacrificing half their artillery. Marshal Bessières then brought forward his whole force and formed them in the plain immediately, in front of Medina. The victory was of the first moment at this juncture, for the French General had dispersed the best army the Spaniards had remaining to the patriot cause; and, by the advance he had maintained, the Marshal also protected the road by which the intrusive King Joseph was at this very time making his approach to the capital. Napoleon, on hearing of the victory of Medina de Rio-Seco, clapped his hands with delight, exclaiming, "C'est mon Villa-Vicoza, Bessières a mis Joseph sur le trône."\*

#### 16. CAPITULATION OF GENERAL DUPONT'S ARMY AT BAYLEN.

Reverting to Andalusia. As soon as General Dupont had put a stop to the pillage of Cordova, he imposed heavy contributions upon the province for the support of his army; but seeing his isolated position in Andalusia with only 8,000 men, and the impossibility of his keeping down the insurgent spirit with such an insufficient force, he sent back to Madrid to request reinforcements. General Savary had, at this period, succeeded Murat in the Lieutenant-Generalship of the kingdom, and, being perfectly aware of the extent of disaffection throughout Spain, had, before the application could reach him, sent earnest representations to Dupont that he should bring in his division across the Sierra Morenas; but neither the one nor the other of these despatches reached their destination. The insurgents held all the roads by which the French general could communicate with the capital, and massacred without mercy every officer who had charge of the intermediate stations. In this way they took possession of the post at Andujar, seized the magazines at Santa Cruz de Mudela, and put to death the sick in hospital at Manzanares. Every species of reprisal was made against the French in retaliation for the cruelties

\* Alluding to the victory of Marshal Vendôme in the war of the Succession, which placed Philip V. on the throne of Spain.

they had inflicted on the country, and an unfortunate General, René, who fell into the hands of the smugglers in the Sierra Morena, was thrown into a bath of boiling water and killed. 400 convalescents, on march, were fallen upon in the open plain of La Mancha, but were saved by the timely arrival of 500 horse, under General Belair, and safely carried back to Toledo.

Dupont pushed forward strong cavalry reconnoissances as far as Carmona, on the road to Seville, but could find no organised force of the insurgents in the plain of the Guadalquivir. On the side of the mountains, however, Echevaria made his presence manifest continually, and by his vigilance rendered the position at Cordova so hazardous that the French general broke up from that city on the 16th of June, and fell back to Andujar, whence he could still command the resources of Andalusia, while he was nearer to the defiles of the Morena. Here he remained inactive and almost in ignorance of all that was passing in the north of Spain, until General Vedel arrived and joined him towards the end of June. This officer brought him news of the return of Murat to France, and the instalment of Savary in his office. In consequence of this information, he now posted his army at Baylen, situated at the foot of the Morena, but yet so as to watch the ferry across the Guadalquivir at Mengibar, near the mouth of the Guadalimar, which flows into the great river down the defile of Linares. Vedel brought with him 5,400 men, which rendered Dupont's army, including the Spanish Swiss, 16,000 strong, and this was increased still further by the junction of the division Gobert, which added 4,700 more infantry and cavalry. Dupont was now, therefore, in respectable force, for he had upwards of 20,000 men, but he could no longer hope for assistance from Madrid or from any other quarter, and was thoroughly isolated amidst a host of enemies, who were rallying against him on every side. His position at Andujar had not been at all comfortable, for, although he had prevented all approach across the bridge by means of an effective *tête de pont*, yet the hills on both sides of the Guadalquivir were lofty and commanding, and occupied by enemies. Moreover, his 20,000 men now required supplies. He had sent out two successful expeditions to Jaen, under Captain Barte and Brigadier Cassagne, who had put to flight all the insurgents they encountered, and sacked and emptied and burned that town ; they had also brought away from the district a considerable supply of corn, fresh meat, wine, and medicine. This last was much needed, for the soldiers were suffering dreadfully from dysentery, in consequence of the unwholesome water of the Guadalquivir, and they especially required vinegar to render it less noxious. But General Dupont, although recognised by the whole French army as a first-rate General in the field, and almost within reach of the bâton of Marshal, was now found wanting in those more precious qualities of vigilance and forethought, and in the moral resolution of commanding others under difficulties and in adversity ; nor could he act with that patience, decision, and energy which are necessary to subdue fortune. He was wholly without the wisdom to supply resources, or the genius requisite to devise some plan of

action ; on the contrary, he did nothing whatever, but waited patiently for the crisis. This soon arrived. The Spanish General Castaños, though not looked upon as a great commander, was systematically disposing his troops in the country around for an attack on the French. He divided his force into four divisions : the first, comprising his right, consisted of 10,000 of his best troops, and was commanded by Reding, a Swiss ; the second 6,000 strong, was commanded by the Marquis de Compigny, an old officer of the Walloon Guard ; the third was in charge of an Irishman, Don Felix Jones ; and the fourth, consisting of 8,000 or 10,000 men, was regarded as the reserve under Don Manuel de le Pêna. On the 9th of July, the Spanish head-quarters were advanced to Arjoneilla, and General Reding to Jaen. On the 14th, the heights to the south of the river were crowded with irregular Spanish riflemen, who obliged the French to stand to their arms. Dupont sent an officer to destroy the bridge of Maiumelejo, on his right, and directed Vedel, from Baylen, to send a detachment to Mengibar on his left, and to send constant patroles from his side to Rumbiar to meet those which he would send from Andujar. On the 15th, the Spaniards, under General Lefranc, came down the mountains upon the French right wing, and accordingly Dupont, desirous of concentrating his force, ordered in Vedel to come in from Baylen, and that Gobert should descend from Carolina to take up the ground at Baylen quitted by Vedel, which was done the same night, leaving General Belair with 1,500 men to hold Mengibar. Gobert sent word to the General-in-Chief that he had obeyed his directions, but that he left the enemy in force at La Carolina, and that he had been obliged to abandon Linares and bring down the cuirassiers to the support of Belair.

On the 16th, in the morning, the Spanish divisions appeared in force on the banks of the Guadalquivir on every side. Don Juan de la Crus had repaired the bridge of Maiumelejo and crossed the river there, while the Marquis de Compigny endeavoured, but in vain, to cross at Villa Nueva de le Reyna ; but it was at Mengibar where the real attack was made, where Reding crossed and drove back Belair. Gobert immediately marched down troops from Baylen to his support, but the division was encountered on the road in open retreat. In the act of rallying them, General Gobert was struck on the head by a ball, of which he died, and Brigadier Dufour assumed the command. He immediately put himself at the head of the cuirassiers, which not only effectually covered the further retreat to Baylen, but stayed the advance of the Spaniards, whom he made to recross the Guadalquivir. An idle cannonade continued for some time between the two banks, and General Fresia, in the meantime, succeeded in driving back the Guerrillas who had descended upon Andujar from the mountains. Dupont, on hearing of the death of Gobert, ordered back Vedel in the night to Baylen. During this affair the insurgents, under Colonel Valdecanos, marched up from Baeza and occupied Linares, from which a road leads up to La Carolina by Guarroman, and Dufour, satisfied at having cleared his front of the enemy, now fell back to repel this demonstration in his rear. When, therefore, Vedel reached

Baylen he found there neither friends nor enemies. He immediately sent out patrols towards Mengibar, but met with no insurgents in that direction; then, hastily concluding that the Spaniards were advancing behind him through the mountain to cut him off from the pass, he at once followed Dufour to Guarroman, and pushed forward his reconnaissance as far into the pass as Despéna Perros. He reported his apprehensions to Dupont, who replied approvingly, but added, "Mettez le poste de Baylen en sûreté." When next, he heard, however, from Vedel, it was to report his retreat on the 18th to La Carolina. Dupont felt the extreme danger of leaving Baylen unoccupied between him and Vedel, and immediately taking measures to break up from Andujar, without being perceived by Castaños, marched away to Baylen; but he was too late. The Spaniards were of course excellently well served with intelligence, and no sooner was it known that Vedel had retired up the mountain pass, and that Dupont was preparing to march, than the divisions of Reding and De Compigny crossed the Guadalquivir, on the same day, and uniting their forces took quiet possession of Baylen, while Castaños made demonstrations of advance in front and flank of Andujar, which the French had little difficulty in repelling, but Dupont was at the moment in utter ignorance of the occupation of Baylen. Thus situated, he set his army in motion on the evening of the same day, to march as soon as the heat of the day had passed, after having dismantled the *tête de pont* and destroyed the bridge at Andujar. At half-past 3, on the evening of the 19th, the march was suddenly interrupted at the rivulet of the Rumbler (over which is a stone bridge) by a host of skirmishers, and by guns established in battery on the side of Baylen. He felt that he must at all hazards force the passage, and ordered forward the Brigade Chabert, supported by the dragoons of General Dupré, with the Swiss under General Schramm, in reserve. These were met by the Walloon Guards, under Reding, and the regiment of horse called *Los ordenes militares*, under Don Francisco de Saavedra. In the conflict, Dupré was mortally wounded, and Schramm, at the head of the Swiss, was struck down. The light guns of the French answered feebly the 12-pounders which the Spaniards had placed in battery, and the superiority of their force enabled them to send flanking parties to threaten the French wings. In vain Dupont sent against them the cavalry under General Pryor, which could not act because of the olive-yards which abounded here, and the brigade Pannetier; but, although these last had partial success, there now appeared on the heights between the Rumbler and Baylen two solid lines of soldiers. Dupont refused the counsel given to him to cut his way through, and gain La Carolina, but placed himself at the head of the marines of the Imperial Guard, and charged the first line of the enemy. His troops, however, fatigued by their night march and gasping under the noonday heat, could make no impression on the Swiss troops under Reding; and, in the middle of the fight the Suisses-Françaises, under De Freuler, unwilling to contend with their countrymen any longer, passed over in a body of 1,600 men to the Spanish lines.

The unfortunate Commander-in-Chief, in despair, listened in the hope that General Vedel's division might be advancing to his aid, and, to his delight, he heard the sound of cannon; but it was not from the side of La Carolina but from the rear, where the leading troops of Castaños, under General de la Pena, announced his approach to General Reding by discharges of artillery. Under these circumstances there was no resource but to endeavour to treat with the enemy, and Dupont sent M. de Villoutreys to demand a suspension of arms, to which Reding assented; but when the same officer went with the same proposition to General de la Pena, on the other side, he flatly refused to concede anything, and referred the bearer to General Castaños. In the meantime, the fire ceased on both sides, and the troops rested in their positions during the night. The answer of Castaños arrived on the morning of the 20th, to the effect that he was ready to treat at Baylen. Dupont accordingly commissioned General Marescal to meet him there, and repaired with M. de Villoutreys to the post-house, where General Castaños with the Count de Tolly received them. The French officers, notwithstanding the imminent danger of their position, conducted themselves, as they are generally found to do, with no lack of modesty. They at once demanded that the whole army should be permitted to retire on Madrid, that the division Barbou should indeed lay down their arms, but that those of Vedel and Dufour should be included in the convention and retain their weapons. Castaños was in the act of conceding these terms, when an intercepted despatch of Savary came into his hands. This had been intrusted to the especial care of a young officer of the name of Fénélon, who had been captured in the mountains, and it peremptorily ordered Dupont to withdraw his forces from La Mancha and concentrate them with the rest of the French army at Madrid. As, therefore, it was clear that to concede the conditions demanded was merely to carry out the orders of the French authorities, Castaños refused the French propositions, and a new arrangement was agreed upon, which was, however, delayed for a definite decision till the morning of the 21st. In the meantime, Captain Barte and another officer arrived in camp on the part of General Vedel, and, having obtained an audience of Dupont, gave him the intelligence that General Vedel had heard the firing of the day before, and had brought back two divisions under his command to Guarroman, and that he was ready to attack the Spanish army from his side the same night, to enable Dupont to cut his way through. The French General, however, returned orders by Captain Barte, that it was much better that Vedel and Dufour should make the best of their way by a rapid march across La Mancha and endeavour to reach Madrid without any reference to himself, who had already come to terms with Castaños, and in the early morning of the 21st Vedel accordingly marched away. It was said that General Dupont admitted to Vedel that he had included him in the capitulation, but at the same time advised him to repudiate his authority and assert his own independence. He therefore marched off, reaching St. Elena before his departure became known.

and he was preparing mines to destroy the road at Despina Penos, in order to render it impassable to his pursuers to follow him, when Castaños heard of his departure, and declared the convention violated, and altogether at an end, unless he halted; at the same time threatening to put the whole of Barbou's division to the sword, if the French General did not instantly stop his march and return. The consequence was that Vedel was overtaken, marched back to Guarroman, and submitted.

On the 23rd, the division Barbou, with Dupont at its head, defiled before General Castaños and De la Pena, and laid down their arms, to the number of 8,242 men. Vedel did the same at Baylen on the 24th, to the number of 9,393 rank and file; but, instead of laying down their arms, they adopted the mock heroic, and delivered them up in bundles to Spanish Commissioners. The insurgents now heaped every species of abuse upon the prisoners, and demanded back the sacred vessels which had been carried away from the churches of Cordova and Jaen. Castaños addressed a proclamation to the population to calm their fury, and, to prevent bad consequences, ordered the prisoners to be marched away in two columns to San Lucan and Rota, avoiding all great towns. By the terms of the capitulation, they were to be embarked on board Spanish ships at Cadiz and conveyed to France. By the same treaty, the Junta of Seville were declared the supreme authority, but its members, yielding to the clamour on every side, refused to ratify the capitulation, and declared the whole of the French army prisoners of war. They were scarcely able to reach Cadiz in safety from the rage of the people, and many were destroyed by the inhabitants as they journeyed thither, and none but the officers were permitted to return to France. General Castaños, with perfect good faith, employed his influence to have justice done to those who had surrendered to him, but in vain. He then appealed to the British authorities, Lieut.-General Sir Hew Dalrymple, at Gibraltar, and Lord Collingwood, at Cadiz; but Moria, to retain his popularity, denounced the convention, and the Spanish people would listen to nothing short of absolute and unreserved surrender.

The capitulation of Baylen is one of the darkest incidents in the annals of the French army, and there is nothing but that of Pavia to compare with it. Napoleon was at Bourdeaux when the news reached him, and was, for the moment, completely overwhelmed by it. It was the first event in the career of his arms calculated to destroy the prestige of victory which had hitherto attended them. He said with bitterness that defeat was the occasional fate of all in the reverses of war, but to surrender 20,000 men with arms in their hands appeared a disgrace which admitted of no excuse: of course it was no mitigation of the evil in his eyes that Mack had surrendered to himself a greater force belonging to Austria in the campaign of 1805. Generals Dupont and Vedel were put in prison immediately on their return to France, and the Emperor ordered a ~~trial~~ to be instituted against them, but nothing was done further, ~~they~~ were still in prison when the Allies entered Paris in 1814.

The former General took service subsequently under the Bourbons, and was War Minister to Louis XVIII.

#### 17. FIRST SIEGE OF ZARAGOZA.

General Verdier had been desired by the Emperor to endeavour to force his way into Zaragoza, and on the 29th of June had arrived before that city, bringing reinforcements to General Lefebvre-Desnoettes and all the guns which he could collect at Pampeluna. He now assumed the command, and gave the necessary orders to commence the siege. The city of Zaragoza may be almost called an open town. It is placed entirely on the right bank of the Ebro, and is completely enclosed by an old wall of brick, 10 feet high and 3 feet thick, without any suburbs, except the small faubourg called Arrabates, situated beyond the bridge, on the left bank, which is here commanded from the city side. Three large buildings, the residence of the Inquisition, in front of the gate del Portillo; the convent of Sta Engracia, at the entrance of the Camina reale from Madrid; and that of San José, on the great road to Valencia, were prepared by Palafox as so many great redoubts in front of the wall, where were many olive-yards, and a rather considerable stream, called La Huerba, which protected more than one-half of the enceinte to its junction with the Ebro. The whole town is overlooked by an elevated plateau, called Monte-Torlero, at the foot of which, about two miles distant, runs the great canal of Aragon. General Lefebvre had, as we have related, taken possession of Monte-Torlero on the 27th, which cut off all the communications of the city from the side of Madrid.

Colonel Lacoste, of the Engineers, who had been expressly sent by the Emperor to undertake the siege, carefully reconnoitred every side of Zaragoza; but all the siege materials were not arrived at the French Engineers' camp, when General Verdier opened fire on the night of the 30th of June. It is fairly established as a rule of military art, though it is constantly violated by the impatient spirit of military commanders, that men should never be employed against barricades of wood or stone until all the means of science shall be at hand to break down or damage the obstructions they offer. The guns were at once established on the side of the Castillo de la Aljaferia, called the palace of the Inquisition, which they battered in breach, while they bombarded the city on the side of Portillo. On the morning of the 2nd, preparations were made for an assault, but General Hubert, who commanded the false attacks on the side of San José, on arriving at the wall, found the ladders were too short, and met such a determined resistance as he did not expect. Palafox had established a battery of 40 guns, which resolutely replied to the French fire, and completely flanked the approach of the troops, who were ordered to assail it in 6 columns. It was here that Augustina, an enthusiastic young woman of the lower class, first showed herself, and seizing a port-fire from the hand of a dead gunner, she fired a 24-pounder from the Spanish battery, and jumping upon it, swore that she would never quit it but with her life.

The carnage now became terrible, but the defenders maintained their ground. The French General was at the end of his ammunition, and was not prepared for the necessity to which he was already reduced by the stubbornness of the defence as evinced at the first assault, notwithstanding the shower of shell and shot which he had poured upon the place during the first two or three nights. He saw the expediency of husbanding his means of attack, and demanded fresh troops; and Colonel Lacoste now determined to make new approaches against the place on the side of the Sta Engracia.

Palafox happened to have been absent from the city at the moment of the assault, and the command had devolved on the Intendant Calvo de Rozas and two plebeian chiefs, called Tio Martin and Tio Jorge. These men all resolutely exerted themselves under their energetic chief to keep up a powerful and continued resistance. The enemy succeeded in destroying the corn mills on the river by which the city was supplied with bread. Under this new infliction, all the horses and mules were collected and brigaded to work mills in the town. There was a reasonable apprehension lest their stock of gunpowder should fail, but the monks (for the credit of the order that had produced Friar Bacon) collected all the sulphur, cleansed the sewers to obtain saltpetre, and fabricated charcoal out of the hemp-stalks, which are here of such a size as to become ligneous, and the magazines were continually supplied. The bridge was still open, by which the insurgents from the open country still brought in supplies, but, by the 11th or 12th, the enemy had closed this communication, and the besieged were now reduced to their own resources. The side of the intended attack having been discovered, the convent of Sta Engracia was converted into a perfect citadel. Batteries of heavy guns were placed in the apartments below, and lighter artillery in the upper stories, while the very clock-tower was armed with falconets and what the Chinese call *gingals*. An *épaulement* was carried from the convent of the Capuchins on the right, towards the Puerto del Carmen; and the bed of the Huerba being dry at this season, was filled with obstructions of every kind. A reinforcement having reached the city from Extremadura, Palafox resolved upon an attempt to retake the Monte-Torrero; and, on the 17th, made a desperate sally at the head of 2,000 men, but these brave levies could not succeed against the disciplined valour of the besiegers. On the 23rd another vigorous sortie was made from the side of Arrabales, to bring in a force of Arragonese, expected to arrive from that side, but all their efforts were alike vain.

The French daily increased the number of their guns, and formed seven new batteries, some of them within 150 yards of the convent. They began to bombard again on the morning of the 31st, but, in the night of the 2nd of August, a furious cannonade opened on the devoted city, which was continued all through the 3rd; 600 shell are said to have been projected, which principally fell on the convents del Carmen and Sta Engracia. On the 4th, at mid-day, the breaches were pronounced practicable, and the besiegers advanced to the storm. Palafox took his place at an early hour near the

Torre del Pino, against which two columns were in march, the right commanded by General Hubert, the left by General Grandjean. Nothing could resist the impulse of the French attack ; they carried the convent, and pushed on to the Calle del Coso, a broad street in the very midst of the city, where they planted the tricolor on the church of San Francisco. Scarcely, however, had the assailants time allowed them to consolidate their success, when, in their front, flank, and rear, every house vomited forth the fire of musketry. The Spanish account is most expressive—"Cada habitante era yo un leon feroz." The assailants were obliged, therefore, to throw up parapets hastily for their protection, and, indeed, it was already necessary to lay siege to every house. The hospital of San Francisco and the madhouse, on the two sides of the street leading into the Coso, offered such a resistance that the French troops commenced with this object to bring out of the houses, furniture, bedding, &c., to construct what are termed "blindages," a kind of temporary fire-proof roofing for shelter. The bitterness of the individual fighting was almost unprecedented, for on the one side were men who fought for their household gods ; on the other, soldiers despising the antagonists who could not withstand them in skill, but brought sheer animal courage and bodily strength to resist them. Before night, the broad space of the Coso divided the combatants ; and the wretched inhabitants, though unhoused and exhausted by the fatigue of a seven hours' conflict, resolutely began to prepare fresh defences. Brigadier Torres was directed by Palafox to get into position fresh guns for the defence of the morrow. In the evening, General Verdier, thinking the besieged sufficiently cowed by the success of his troops, sent to Palafox this short summons, "Se rende luego luego Zaragoza. The French Marshal sent in his terms more formally, "La paix et la capitulation ;" to which the Spaniard instantly replied as curtly, "Guerra a cuchillo." Verdier had been himself wounded severely by a ball in the thigh, and Lefebvre-Desnouettes had received a grave contusion in the side, yet the French writers assert that their casualties in this night battle were only 300 killed and 900 wounded. It was probably thrice that number ; but no one knows correctly how many were Spanish and how many were French on the heaps that filled every street and every house in the portion of the city which was the scene of the combat.

Lefebvre-Desnouettes, who succeeded to the command in consequence of Verdier's wound, proposed to Lacoste to proceed by the more insidious mode of sap and mine, rather than incur all the casualties of street fighting ; for the acrimony of the Spaniards was such that it would not even justify the concession of a truce to bury the dead, which, in the terrible heats of the season, soon became a source of as much danger to the inhabitants as the sword of the French. Palafox, in this emergency, harnessed the French prisoners to ropes, and made them drag away the dead out of the streets to cast them into pits, which were hastily dug to receive them, and, of course, the French did not fire on their comrades in the course of these sad duties.

On the evening of the following day, the 5th of August, Verdier received the account of the capitulation of Baylen and the order of King Joseph to raise the siege as soon as he could do so without risk, but to do his best to exhaust against the enemy all store of gunpowder which he could not bring away. While, therefore, the street firing was kept up continually, night and day, preparations were silently made for withdrawing the French army. The important intelligence of Dupont's surrender had also reached the garrison on the 9th, and was made known to the city by a public announcement. A reinforcement of 3,000 Arragonese, under Palafax's brother, had, in the meantime, come into Zaragoza on the evening of the 7th, and, on the 8th, a council of war declared unanimously that they were ready to defend the portion of the city they held as long as they could, and, if driven from their streets, could cross over to Arrabales, and defend themselves in that suburb to the last extremity. This determination of the citizens was shared in by the clergy, and even the women. Of the former, one Iago Saass has been noted for his enterprising character, so that his townsmen created him a Captain, and named him Chaplain-General to the army, for his services. Of the latter, the Countess Bureta, one of the most distinguished of the Arragonese nobility, sallied out of her mansion with a firelock in her hand at the head of a disciplined company of women, and led them into the midst of every danger, not only to carry succour to the wounded, but to resist the assailants in person. In expectation of the French departure, Palafax addressed a spirited proclamation from the "Cuartel General de Zaragoza," complimenting both "Arragoneses y Soldados" on their two months' noble resistance of the French armies, and the inhabitants forthwith illuminated their houses; but their liberation was not yet effected, and the most frightful explosions spread continual terror and alarm. In the night of the 14th many mines were sprung, but fires were seen with delight to arise from the engineer's park on Monte-Torero. The last blew up the Church of Sta Engracia, which was laid in ruins.\* While the defenders were ready, on the morning of the 14th, to renew the resistance with undiminished rancour, word was brought that the French were marching away on the road to Pampeluna. In the midst of the desolation and misery, the first thought of the besieged was to proceed, in full procession, to the metropolitan church, Del Pilar, where Palafax, accompanied by the Conde de Montijo, the Corregidor, and Ayuntamiento, and crowds, civil and military, amid the sound of music and cannon, sung a solemn *Te Deum* before they returned to their ruined palaces and broken homes.

Honour, immortal honour to the name of Zaragoza! The

\* The subterranean church of Sta Engracia was, in the estimation of devotees of the Romish Church, one of the most sacred edifices of Spain. It was full of reliquies, and lighted up day and night with 20 lamps, which, although the roof was but 12 feet high, never sullied it with smoke. This was owing to the oil prepared by the monks of the Geronymite monastery attached to this church, and puzzled all who did not believe it to be miraculous.

whole history of the world does not present a brighter and purer patriotism than was exhibited, in 1808, by the inhabitants of Zaragoza. It is a perfect wonder, at the present day, how an open town, with no resources but the enthusiasm of a large population, could have resisted, for a moment (let alone forty days), the skill and resources of 17,000 troops of the most experienced and successful army of Europe! Perhaps no nation but the Spanish could have produced such an example. Although not eminently a military people, yet, with great individual bravery, they possess wonderful powers of endurance; though not eminently moral, yet they possess a grandeur of soul, which revolts at deceit and insult, and would stop at nothing to save their women and children from dishonour, and their religion from desecration. The loss of fathers, husbands, sons, mothers, wives, and daughters, was endured with patience, but with indignation; while the sight of their ruined churches and homesteads lighted an inextinguishable animosity, which carried them to a glorious result, such as mere military discipline could never have reached with such slender preparations for defence. Many material trophies remained to them among the stores left behind by the besiegers; but, if glory was ever of value, it was when in defence of their liberties, and their lives, and their religion, they proved that they could successfully resist an inveterate enemy in defence of all they held dear. If, then, the mere *animus* of patriotism could fire an undisciplined people to such endurance of calamity for a great object, without the "appliances and means to boot," what may not be expected in our own country from the establishment of trained bands of rifle volunteers, who, with equal patriotism and equal resolution, are disciplined to perfect skill in the use of the weapon, and are as completely organised as regular troops? The sovereign of a presumptuous and arrogant soldiery should take warning from Zaragoza.

King Joseph had entered Madrid on the 20th of July. His reception had been cold enough, and he could scarcely have reached the capital of his new kingdom in personal safety but for the effect of Bessière's victory at Rio-Seco. He had, however, but just settled himself down in his palace, in that quiet luxury which he particularly loved, when the sinister rumours of the capitulation of Baylen reached Madrid. These were very soon followed by the arrival of M. de Villoutreys, escorted by a guard of Spanish cavalry, bearing the terms of the capitulation of his army to the King. What was now to prevent the victorious army of Castaños marching straight to the capital? Had it been commanded by a Napoleon, it would have been there almost as soon as the Aide-de-camp we have mentioned. The division of General Freire, in La Mancha, could offer little resistance, and the garrison of Madrid was composed merely of men in hospital and the weak divisions of Mounier and Morlot, for all defence. The throne, moreover, was already a thorny seat; for, in the short time that the intrusive King had been at Madrid, he and Savary had been at variance; and, although he might have sent him away out of Spain, yet the General represented the high

authority of the Emperor against the feeble power of an immature royalty, and now, in his trouble, Joseph appealed to him for his advice, glad to cover his own feebleness with the responsibility of a French General. The resolve to abandon Madrid was arrived at in council together; but it was necessary to save as much as possible of the *materiel de guerre* which had been collected in the fort of Buera-Retico, and, accordingly, while orders were issued for the retirement of all the French forces behind the Ebro, it was the 2nd of August before Joseph quitted Madrid, and established his headquarters at Miranda, on the great *Camina Reale* leading into France.

#### 18. A BRITISH EXPEDITION, UNDER WELLESLEY, ARRIVES IN THE PENINSULA.

The British expedition, intended to aid the patriotic exertions of the nations of the Peninsula, was collected at Cork, to the extent of 9,000 soldiers, who set sail from that port on the 12th of July, and, while the transports were slowly ploughing the Bay of Biscay, Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley sailed away on board the "Crocodile," anticipating his forces, in order to learn the state of affairs in the Peninsula, and to determine on the spot which, in his judgment and that of the naval authorities off the coast, was best suited for the landing of the expedition; he arrived, on the 20th, at Corunna. He immediately sought an interview with the Galician Junta, whom he found in a state of the greatest consternation at the defeat of Medina de Rio-Seco, which had only occurred a few days before; and, although in a perfect panic as to its results, they refused the aid of British troops, professing that they needed no assistance, except in money and stores. There is at all times a blind self-confidence in the Spanish character, and the truth was that the leaders of the patriots, at this time, were hot-headed, violent men, who entertained an inflated opinion of the bravery and efficiency of their troops, and some contempt for the troops of every other nation, especially of the English army, who had not at that time performed any deeds of arms worthy their ancient renown; so that General Castaños, a man of moderate character, gave vent, in a speech addressed to the French officers at Baylen, to this most imprudent remark: "Let not your Emperor force us into the arms of the English, who are hateful to us, and to this moment we have rejected their proffered succour." Finding, therefore, what were the tone and complexion of thought in Spain, Wellesley left that people to their own devices, and took his course to Oporto. There he was cordially received by the Bishop and the authorities, who offered a ready compliance with his demands for supplies of cattle for draught, and for assistance of every kind to his commissariat; but he was warned by Colonel Browne, whom he found at Oporto, not to trust very confidently to the national promises, or to value their proffered assistance in the field, for the Portuguese army did not exceed 6,500 *badly-equipped* soldiers, and some 10,000 or 12,000 undisciplined

peasants, concentrated in the valley of the Mondego. The Lieutenant-General then proceeded by sea to the mouth of the Tagus, where he consulted Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, in command of the British fleet off that port. The information he here obtained was that the enemy's position in the neighbourhood of Lisbon was so strong that it was not practicable to effect a landing in that quarter, and he, therefore, resolved to return in the " Crocodile," to meet the fleet of transports, and disembark then, midway between Oporto and Lisbon, at Mondego Bay. There was no place to the northward of Lisbon better suited for disembarkation except Peniche, where was a strong fort, occupied by the enemy, which could not be taken without heavy ordnance; but the fort of Figueras, at the mouth of the Mondego, had been already taken possession of by the partisan Zagalo, and was now occupied by a detachment of British marines. On the 1st of August, the troops commenced landing there, and as the last brigade disembarked, on the 3rd, the division of General Spencer arrived from Cadiz most opportunely, and came to anchor the same day. This reinforcement raised the effective strength of Wellesley's army to 12,300 men.

The moment he set his foot on shore, Sir Arthur proceeded to hold a conference with General Bernardin Freire, in command of the Portuguese force at Montemor Velho, in order to discuss a plan of future operations. The British General's sagacity soon discovered, notwithstanding the pompous accounts given him by the Junta, that no reliance whatever was to be placed on the Portuguese Government, for, instead of finding the supplies which had been promised, the magazines, prepared for the British army at Leyria, had been seized by the Portuguese General, who further demanded of the English General that he should undertake to subsist his troops, most obstinately refusing to move from Leyria, if he would not do so. Sir Arthur, therefore, proposed to Freire to send him the Portuguese cavalry and about 1,000 Caçadores, who, he engaged, should fare equally with the British, and the Portuguese General was then to be left to carry on such independent operations as he might think proper. Accordingly, a small division of 1,400 infantry and 260 dragoons joined the British army. The General-in-Chief was obliged, under these circumstances, to arrange his movements with much circumspection, and, before commencing his march, saw the necessity of collecting for himself means of transport sufficient for the march of his soldiers into the field.

General Junot had, from the very first moment of his arrival in Portugal, found himself in a situation of danger and embarrassment. He had made himself personally obnoxious to the people of Lisbon by contumely and exaction, and had exasperated the clergy in a manner that acted with telling force on the bigoted community under their influence; but the French General had not been insensible to the dangers arising from the proceedings on the Spanish side of the Peninsula, and adopted every precaution against his army being surprised or surrounded like that of Dupont. He divided the French force under his command, amounting to an

effective strength of 45,000 men, into three corps of infantry and one of cavalry: the first was commanded by Laborde, the second by Loison, the third by Travot, and the cavalry by Margaron. All the fortresses of the kingdom were at this time in his possession, and were everywhere in perfect repair, garrisoned and provisioned. Kellerman had the military superintendence of the Alemtejo, Maurice of the Algarves, and Quesnel of the North, while the Marshal maintained his head-quarters in the capital. He received, in June, the orders of the Emperor to send one corps into Galicia, to the support of Marshal Bessières, and another to assist Dupont in Andalusia. The Spanish contingents, however, which were sent to both corps revolted, and joined the patriot armies. Junot, by his personal activity and vigour, prevented Caraffa's division in Lisbon from following their example, for he sent the 4,500 men composing it to be confined in hulks upon the Tagus. The news, that a British army had effected a landing in Mondego Bay, reached Lisbon on the 2nd of August. Junot, in anticipation of such an arrival, had warned the commanders of the different corps under him, and the division under General Laborde, consisting of 5,000 bayonets and 500 sabres, with five pieces of artillery, marched to the encounter at once of the British; but the French Marshal now ordered General Loison, with 7,500 men and six guns, to come up quickly from the Alemtejo and strengthen Laborde's division; then collecting all the detachments he had with him in Lisbon, he proceeded with them to take the field in person.

#### 19. COMBAT AT ROLIÇA—BATTLE OF VIMIERO.

On the 8th Wellesley marched, and on the 9th his advance entered Leyria, to prevent, if possible, the junction of Loison and Laborde. On the 11th, he reached that city with his whole force, and succeeded in this object; for the former finding the British before him at Leyria fell back on Santarem, through Torres Novas, while Laborde, not knowing where his colleague might be, advanced to Batalha, but afterwards fell back to Obidos, and thence on the 16th to Roliça. The heat was very oppressive, and the French were so exhausted with it that Loison was compelled to remain at Santarem two days to recover them. The rival troops first came to blows on the previous day, when some men fell in a skirmish, and Obidos was occupied after a trifling resistance; but the position taken up by Laborde at Roliça was a good one, though he had a very inferior force to contest it against his antagonist, unless Loison should come up. The French General was therefore placed in a situation that required no small exercise of personal intrepidity; but animated by the danger, encouraged by the advantages the position offered, and justly confident in his troops, he resolved to abide his adversary's assault. About 7 in the morning of the 17th the British general marched against him from the town of Obidos with 14,000 men and 18 guns, in three columns of attack; the riflemen being detached right and left to keep up the communication between them. Hill, with his brigade, and 1,200 Portuguese, under Colonel Trant,

moved on the right of the valley to make a long détour to turn the enemy's left. The left, under Ferguson, consisting of his own brigade and that of Bowes, with 6 guns, advanced up the hills under the expectation of meeting Loison, whose arrival at Rio Major had been ascertained, and at the same time to render the heights at Rolica untenable. The centre, under Wellesley himself, consisting of the brigades of Beresford, Nightingale, and Fane, with two batteries of guns, moved along the high road against the enemy's front. The French general seeing this disposition, retired by the passes into the mountains with the utmost regularity and the greatest celerity, and fell back under a cannonade to the rocky heights between Columbeira and Zambugeiro. This retrograde movement so lengthened the march to Ferguson and Trant's columns that they were too distant to be of service, so that the centre was forced to a direct unsupported attack against the new position, where Laborde received them with great gallantry. The advantage of superior numbers was thus lost to the British, for only 4,000 men could be thrust into the fight, and the assailling columns were so crowded in the ascent by narrow pathways that the attack lost all its *ensemble*. The defence of the formidable position was desperate. The French general was himself wounded at the commencement of the affair, but never quitted the field. He was, however, unable to maintain his ground alone against the great force to which he was opposed. But, nevertheless, he made his retreat in good order and with resolution, for Ferguson's column now coming on his right flank, he gradually drew away his troops from the left, although in so doing the 9th and 29th fell upon him, against whom he made three most gallant attacks, in one of which Colonel Lake, of the latter regiment, fell. The action lasted from 9 in the morning till 5 in the afternoon, and cost the French 3 guns and 600 men. The British loss did not exceed 500. The manœuvre of General Loison at Rolica was, to employ a modern slang word, extremely *dodgy*. His object was to afford time for a junction with Laborde, and he was also wishful to learn the amount of his adversary's force. He therefore retired slowly before the British from Olidos to the heights behind the village of Rolica, whence he could see Wellesley's army; but, as soon as he perceived Ferguson marching to outflank him, he fell back to Zambugeiro, where he could withstand any disparity of force. He also by this little retreat obliged Ferguson, who had made the circle to outflank him at Rolica, to make another to outflank him at Zambugeiro, and having thus obtained time, he then, protected by his cavalry, made a timely retreat. It was not his fault that he did not reap all the advantage of this delay. The want of cavalry and the nature of the ground, intersected with deep ravines and covered with low brushwood and gum cistus, prevented this first success of the English from being as complete as it might have been.

Junot, having made all his arrangements at Lisbon, left General Travot in charge of the capital, which he quitted on the 16th of August, carrying with him three battalions and a regiment of

cavalry, with 10 guns and plenty of ammunition, together with the military chest. He came up at Torres Vedras with Laborde, and was soon after joined there by Loison. The former general was not followed after to Roliça, as well for the causes named already as that Wellesley had intelligence that a large fleet of transports was in sight off the coast. Instead, therefore, of following the high road in pursuit of the French, he marched close to the shore to cover the landing of these reinforcements, and moving forward towards Lourinka for this purpose, he, on the evening of the 19th, took up a position beside the village of Vimiero. The same night the brigades of Anstruther and Ackland safely came to shore, and were marched up to join Sir Arthur on the 20th, which increased his force most opportunely to 16,000 men and 18 pieces of artillery. Thus reinforced, Wellesley resolved on an advance upon Lisbon. He was, however, expecting every hour to be superseded in his command, for, such was at this period the deplorable ignorance of the British Cabinet of military organisation, that no less than three senior generals—Moore, Burrard, and Dalrymple—were nominated to the actual command, and each or all of these might be expected to arrive every moment. In the night of the 20th, one of them, Sir Harry Burrard, did arrive, and Sir Arthur went on board the frigate in Maceira road to report to his superior officer. He explained to him that Marshal Junot was in his front with 14,000 good soldiers, 23 guns, and a powerful cavalry, but that he had projected a march for that very night to turn the French left and gain Mafra, without assaulting the strong ground of Torres Vedras. Sir Harry, however, forbade the projected march, because he had reason to expect the reinforcement under Sir John Moore; and any reason for delay has always a sufficient influence upon incompetence. What sort of commander would this have proved, who could sleep on shipboard when the enemy was in pursuit of his army? Wellesley showed him the utter impossibility of remaining quiet where both armies now stood, and explained that any delay would give Junot the advantage of the initiative; but Sir Harry was not to be convinced, although he would not land and assume the command. At the very moment of this colloquy the French were in motion, and, after a tedious night's march, they appeared at 7 in the morning within four miles of the British outposts.

The position at Vimiero was a steep mountain ridge, resting its right upon the sea, and trending on the left hand towards a plateau on which the village of Vimiero was situated. A ridge of less elevation continued on the other side of a ravine or dry bed of a rivulet. Junot, whose impetuous character was too impatient to make any reconnaissance, saw that the British left was lower and less occupied than their right, and at once ordered his cavalry, under General Margaron, to march by the road to Lourinka to turn the position on that side, while he directed Brennier and Laborde, supported by Loison and a reserve of grenadiers under Kellerman, to assail the lower elevation of the position, paying no attention whatever to the higher ground. Wellesley detected this error, and

denuding the lofty ridge of all that occupied it, except one brigade under General Hill, he sent away the four other brigades which had been posted there across the plain to the left-hand ridge, while the Portuguese, under Trant, were despatched to the extreme left to watch the Lourinka road. These movements, made along the chord of the arc by which the French moved, were concealed by the form of the ground from the French Marshal's observation, and this accession of force had, in fact, already reached its ground before the attack commenced. The whole of the position about Vimiero is so broken and wooded, that the approach of the French, led by Laborde, could not be clearly discerned before they burst upon the British centre. The advance, under Brigadier Thomière, forced its way with great vehemence and power, but could not get through the British line, where they were well received by the brigade of Fane, who, observing that the guns could act well from the place he occupied, ordered up Colonel Robe with the reserve artillery to strengthen the brigade of six guns already on this platform. Such a shower of shell and grape now fell upon the advance as might have been sufficient to stop any troops; nevertheless, Thomière pushed up the hill, but on the summit he found the 50th regiment, who checked his advance and drove him down again. Anstruther's troops on Fane's left had equal success, so that Laborde called up Kellerman's reserve. These were met by the 43rd, who encountered them in the churchyard of the village with ringing shouts, rushing in a solid mass upon the enemy, whom Robe's artillery had already terribly disconcerted, and driving them by the bayonet in irrecoverable disorder. A French chef-de-bataillon here fell covered with wounds, and Colonels Foy and Prost of their artillery were severely wounded. A flank attack was opportunely made upon the retiring French column by the brigade of Ackland, who drove the enemy, under Brigadier Charlot, before them, close to the very foot of the plateau. Towards noon Junot, seeing that he could not pierce the centre, sent forward the brigades of Brennier and Solignac of the division Loison, to turn a ravine which led to the English left: this ground, full of rocks and hollows, was difficult to traverse, so that when they emerged from it in some disorder, they were encountered by Brigadier Ferguson with the 36th, 40th, and 71st, who came down upon them with a counter attack, so fierce, so rapid, so well sustained, that Solignac fell badly wounded, and his men, deprived of his command, were forced into low ground on their right and lost six guns. The troops who retained the ground were soon afterwards attacked by the brigade Brennier, who beat them back and retook the guns, but in the struggle that ensued the French general himself was made prisoner, and his brigade obliged to retreat again with great loss.

The French, to whom, at this period of the war, anything like defeat was an amazement, were retiring from these attacks when Colonel Taylor, at the head of 400 men of the 20th dragoons and Portuguese cavalry, came sweeping down the plain, and actually had taken prisoner the chef-de-bataillon, Palamède de Forbin, when he was encountered by Margaron's horse, who drove the allied cavalry back

with the loss of their brave leader. The British reserve had not been at this time brought forward, and Hill's brigade had not fired a shot, nor had Trant's column nor Ferguson's any other than very trifling casualties. Anstruther sent down, at this period of the action, to ask if he should bring up his brigade to the assistance of the Commander-in-Chief. "No, sir," Sir Arthur replied, "I am not pressed, and I want no assistance. I am beating the French, and am able to beat them wherever I find them." Wellesley now desired to follow up the victory, for at 2 in the day Junot's retreat was in full operation, and an unquestionable fact. He desired to push forward his right and centre on Montachique by Torres Vedras, which road was now left uncovered, and this would have cut off completely the retreat of the French upon Lisbon, but Sir Harry Burrard, who had been absent at the beginning of the battle, had now arrived upon the ground, and assumed the command. That general had, with a gentlemanly forbearance, declined to take the command during the fight, but now deeming the further responsibility to be on his own shoulders, he issued his orders to the army to halt and pile arms, that they might remain in position for the momentarily expected arrival of Sir John Moore. Sir Arthur could not restrain the bitterness of his disappointment at this order, and, turning to the officers of his staff, said : "Gentlemen, nothing now remains to be done but to go and shoot red-legged partridges."

The battle of Vimiero may be cited as the first instance in which the French became acquainted with the peculiar character and organisation of the British army in battle. The stolid firmness and resolute thrust of the infantry, and the wonderful skill and precision of the artillery, were not at all like the bearing of other opponents over whom they had obtained such easy victories, and the knowledge here obtained had considerable influence on the whole war. The Duke of Abrantes, whose gallantry in the field this day justified all his antecedents, profited by this unexpected cessation of hostilities to re-form his broken infantry, and he called his generals around him to consider the best course to be adopted under the circumstances of this defeat in the field and the consequent impossibility of holding Portugal. Their situation had indeed become perilous in the extreme. Their army had been defeated in two successive actions; 1,000 men were killed or missing, and another 1,000 wounded, and the only resource open was a retreat into Spain, through a hostile population. The generals therefore agreed that they were not in a condition either to give or receive a battle, and must, therefore, have recourse to some species of negotiation for the safety of the army. It was, therefore, resolved to despatch General Kellerman, the son of the hero of Valmy, and an officer of considerable merit of his own acquiring at Marengo and elsewhere, and of some experience in diplomatic affairs, to the British headquarters, on the morning of the 22nd. It may be noted, in passing, that the British loss in the two actions was 1,220, and that of the French was stated at 2,500.

## 20. CONVENTION OF CINTRA.

Lieutenant-General Sir Hew Dalrymple had, however, arrived in the offing, with authority to assume the supreme command of the British army, and, on the evening of the 21st, sent his Aide-de-camp to shore in order to learn the state of affairs. He was informed, about midnight, that Wellesley had fought a battle and obtained a victory, but that Burrard had subsequently arrived, and was in command. As there was now, therefore, no longer room for any delicacy in the matter, Sir Hew landed next day, and assumed the chief authority.

With very considerable surprise he received General Kellerman with his missive from the Duke of Abrantes, and at once appointed Sir Arthur Wellesley and the Quarter-master General Murray to conduct the conference. The French historians pretend that the tact of the French negotiator was such, that he discovered much, from what they let fall in conversation, as to the unsatisfactory condition of affairs under so many generals, and that this encouraged him to advance his larger demands; but there was, in fact, no negotiation in which to show tact, for there was no hesitation in admitting an armistice for 48 hours, nor as to the line of demarcation between the armies. Though British officers may not, in general, be able diplomats, and are bad deceivers at any time, yet they are not usually charged, by their animated and lively rivals, of being very talkative or communicative. The succession of three different Generals to the chief command was not likely to be productive of a vigorous resolve or a high tone in discussion; nevertheless, Kellerman returned to his chief on the 23rd, at Montachique, bearing the terms of a mere suspension of arms, to which Junot gladly put his seal, and, having placed his army into cantonments, the Marshal forthwith repaired himself, with an escort of grenadiers and dragoons, and all his sick and wounded, to Lisbon, to pack up his baggage, the river Lizandro having been declared to be the line of demarcation between the armies, and an interval of 48 hours being required to denounce the armistice on either side. It was, however, understood that the British ultimatum was, that the French should quit Portugal, and that all the strong places should be restored to the Portuguese authorities.

To the treaty with this object, prepared by the French, Wellesley introduced the name of Admiral Sir Charles Cotton as a ratifying party, because of the requirements introduced by Junot in respect to the Russian fleet, at this time lying in the Tagus, under the command of Admiral Siniavin; but Cotton at once refused to be a party to any treaty with the French, in respect to a Russian fleet, and accordingly declined to go to Lisbon, or to have anything to do with the definite convention. Kellerman, therefore, and Murray met together to discuss the military details, without reference to the Russian fleet. But difficulties soon arose as to the meaning of the preliminary terms, and, in consequence, the British General denounced the armistice on the 28th. In the meantime,

Moore, with 11,000 men, disembarked at Maceira, and Beresford, with the 52nd regiment, at the mouth of the Tagus. The Portuguese army under Freire advanced to Mafra, and others of their troops came flocking up to the capital on both sides of the Tagus. Junot, therefore, seeing himself thus outnumbered, conceded the point in dispute, and the Convention, as definitively agreed upon, was, on the 30th, signed by Murray and Kellerman, and carried to Sir Hew Dalrymple at Cintra, who ratified it on the 31st. The French army set sail from Lisbon during the first days of September, and were, according to agreement, landed on the coast of Brittany, whence they were at once marched away to enter the Peninsula again, by way of the Pyrenees. The garrisons of Elvas and Almeida, however, did not arrive in time to accompany them. On the former fortress being summoned by the Spanish General Galluzzo, the French Commandant, Girod de Novilais, refused to listen to his proposal to yield up the place, and it was not till the arrival of a British regiment, under Hope, that it was surrendered. This division was not, therefore, put on board transports at Aldea Gallega until the 7th of October. The garrison of Almeida had injudiciously determined to keep the fête Napoléon on the 15th of August, by a sally and butchery of some Portuguese militia, in their immediate front, and to retaliate, the peasants, under the direction of a monk who styled himself José de la Madre de Dios, poisoned the fountains, by which many of the garrison were destroyed, and so many of their cattle, that they fell into great want of provisions. Accordingly, they were but too glad to give up the place to the English, who were sent to demand it, and the unfortunate garrison, amounting to 1,400 men, were conducted to embark at Oporto; but on the road they were only saved from being decimated and destroyed by the intervention of the British Colonel Sir Robert Wilson with the corps, which that active and enterprising officer had raised in the country, and which he had styled the Lusitanian Legion. With respect to the Russian squadron, a separate convention was drawn up between the Admirals Sir Charles Cotton and Siniavin, and signed on the 3rd of September, by which the Russian fleet, consisting of 9 sail of the line and a frigate, was placed in the hands of His Britannic Majesty, as a deposit, until six months after a treaty of peace between Russia and Great Britain; and in the meanwhile the officers and crews were to be sent home to their own country, at England's expense.

The indignation of the British nation at the Convention of Cintra was unbounded, and an enquiry into the conduct of the three Generals who contracted the engagement was so loudly demanded, that it took place under the presidency of General Sir David Dundas, but their report, on the 22nd of December, exonerated all the generals from direct blame. This was too much for endurance, and, accordingly, it was thought expedient, in order to satisfy the public voice, that the King should make an official declaration conveying a rebuke on Sir Hew Dalrymple. The Com-

vention was also loudly disapproved of by the Portuguese General Freire, and the stirring faction of which the Bishop of Oporto was the head, who could not be persuaded that it was a purely military arrangement between the British and French armies. When the latter looted the kingdom every edifice in Portugal, civil or religious, had been despoiled of all that was valuable and portable. Junot, who had entered the kingdom with scarcely a change of linen, demanded five ships to remove what he called his personal effects; and the plunder of all was in proportion to that of the chief. It was not, therefore, without immense difficulty that the two British commissioners appointed to carry out the Convention could resist the unblushing pertinacity with which the French officers endeavoured to claim public plunder as private baggage. The differences at length rose to such a height, that Lisbon became in a fearful state of bitterness against the French, and of reproach against the English for protecting them, so that at length the English Commander-in-Chief found himself obliged to declare martial law, without recognising the authority of the Juntas at all, but he finally re-established the Regency as appointed by the Prince Regent at his departure for the Brazils.

The Convention of Cintra was, notwithstanding all the obloquy that had been thrown upon it, a measure both politic and advantageous to the British under the circumstances. It delivered Portugal altogether from the French, and gave possession of fortresses, the acquisition of which would have cost much time and blood. The British army was at the moment in a very unorganised state — its horses were out of condition, and few in number; the siege train was still on board ship; the mouth of the Tagus was held by a Russian fleet; and Lisbon, saved from destruction, became an excellent *place d'armes*, the possession of which, by sea and land, secured the future operations against the enemy.

#### 21. DE LA ROMAGNA ARRIVES IN SPAIN FROM DENMARK.

It will be remembered that part of the policy of Napoleon, in anticipation of the designs he was meditating against the Spanish kingdom, was to remove its military force from its defence. So far back as the battle of Eylau, a division of Spanish soldiers, under the command of the Marquis de la Romagna, was directed upon Hamburg, and, traversing France with that object, reached its destination just about the period of the seizure of Copenhagen by the British. It was at this time placed under the superior command of Marshal Bernadotte. When matters became matured for the French possession of the Peninsula, Napoleon advised the Prince of Ponte-Corvo to keep an eye upon this corps, consisting of about 20,000 men. The French authorities contrived to keep De la Romagna in complete ignorance of all that was occurring in Spain, but at length the British Government found a medium through which it could communicate with the Marquis. A Swedish clergyman, in whose honour and enterprise they could confide, contrived to gain access to the Spanish General by jostling him advisedly in

the street, and apologising for the misadventure in *Latin*. A conversation thence ensued in that language, in which De la Romagna became informed of what had happened, and of the readiness of the British authorities to assist him in the rescue of himself and his troops from French trammels. The Spaniards in Zealand no sooner learned the atrocious aggression under which their native land was suffering than they cordially responded to their General's appeal, and he opened a communication with the British Rear-Admiral Keats, who was in the Baltic with a squadron of three 74-gun ships, and five or six other smaller vessels. Accordingly, they took possession of the fort and town of Nyborg, in the Isle of Fünen, on the 9th of August, with 6,000 men. The Danish authorities, displeased at such a proceeding, moored a man-of-war brig, the "Fama," and the cutter, "Salornan," 12, in front of the harbour, and would not listen to any remonstrances addressed to them by the British and Spanish Commanders. The boats and small vessels of the British squadron were therefore placed under the command of Captain Macnamara, of the "Edgar," who attacked and captured both the brig and cutter the same night. It was now of first consequence to embark the Spanish army with all haste, and, accordingly, the Admiral, shifting his flag to the "Hound," bomb-vessel, directed Macnamara to man 57 sloops or doggers found in the ports with the seamen of the squadron, and in the course of the following day a great part of the artillery, baggage, and stores belonging to the Spanish troops was carried on board, and removed to the port of Sleypham, where on the 11th the troops were all embarked without an accident. About 1,000 more men joined the anchorage off the island of Sproe, in Jutland, and another 1,000 from Langeland; but two regiments quartered in the island of Zealand were disarmed and made prisoners, after firing on the French General Frison, and killing one of his *Aide-de-camps*. Altogether about 10,000 men were carried off, and, with the gallant Marquis, safely landed at Corunna on the 30th of September.

## 22. WAR IN SCANDINAVIA.

On the 9th of February, a Russian army 20,000 strong, under General Buxhowden, disregarding the rigours of a winter of unusual severity, entered Finland, heralded by a proclamation or Imperial ukase from the Czar, which bore "that we unite Finland for ever to our Empire, and command its inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to our throne." The King of Sweden had made no preparations for the defence of Finland, and the few troops in that province, unable to make head against so formidable a force, were obliged to retreat. The important fortress of Helsingfors, and ultimately the capital city of the province, Abo, fell into the hands of the Russians. Sveaborg, the Gibraltar of the North, is situated on seven rocks separated from the mainland, flanking each other, casemated for the protection of their garrisons, and impervious to the attack of any land force. It was at this period strongly fortified with 700 pieces of cannon, and in the roads, which might

contain the fleets of the world, lay a fleet of Swedish galleys. It was garrisoned by 3,000 Swedish troops, commanded by Admiral Cronstadt, when on the 8th of March it was invested from the land side, but the frozen waters of the Baltic prevented effectually the sea face of the fortress from being surrounded. The orders to the governor were "to defend the fortress to the last extremity." Yet, although no landing had been attempted from the ice, and a very weak bombardment had been opened from the shore, the place was most shamefully surrendered on the 6th of April, under a strong suspicion of bribery.

The Swedish fleet consisted of 11 or 12 sail of the line, under Admiral Nauchhoff, and 6 or 7 frigates. Fortunately for Sweden, Denmark had at this time only two line of battle ships left to oppose her, but Russia possessed a fleet far greater than Gustavus could send to sea. It was necessary, therefore, to look to Great Britain for assistance; but, with true Muscovite finesse, although the peace of Tilsit naturally suspended all friendly relations with England, she waited until the Baltic was frozen over before she declared war. However, as soon as the ice broke up, on the 17th of May, a British fleet assembled off Gottenburg under Vice-Admiral Sir James Saumarez, consisting of "Victory," 100, Captain George Hope, bearing the Admiral's flag, "Centaur," 74, Captain Webley, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, "Superb," 74, Captain Jackson, bearing that of Admiral Goodwin Keats, "Implacable," 74, Captain Bryan Martin, "Brunswick," Captain Graves, "Mars," Captain Lukin, "Orion," 74, Captain Sir Archibald Dickson, "Goliath," Captain Paget, "Vanguard," Captain Baker, "Dictator," 64, Captain Donald Campbell, "Africa," 64, Captain Barrett; with the "Africaine," "Euryalus," "Salsette," "Tribune," and "Tartar" frigates, besides sloops, gun-brigs, &c. About 200 sail of transports, having on board 12,000 men, under Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, were with the fleet, ready for disembarkation. In the meanwhile, General Klingspor, at the head of the Swedish troops in Finland, after having fallen back as far as Ulenborg, boldly resumed the offensive on the 17th of May, and, aided by a gallant band of peasants, who rallied around the Swedish General, to avert the dreaded Muscovite yoke, had repeated success against the Russians, took from them 99 pieces of cannon, and expelled them from the whole of East Bothnia. In the same month of May the Swedish fleet recaptured the islands of Aland and Gotland, which had yielded to the Russian arms, and Admiral Bodikoff, with the Russian garrisons, were made prisoners.

The British repaired to Stockholm to concert measures with the King for the employment of this force in conjunction with His Majesty's army; but it was no easy matter to deal with the eccentric monarch. His mind, although he had scarcely strength enough to defend his kingdom, was bent on conquest, and he first proposed the conquest of Zealand. The British General represented to the King, that not only was the island strongly fortified, but full of

Danish troops, and that there was a strong force of French and Spanish in the adjoining island of Fünen. The next proposition made was, that the British troops should land in Finland, and take a position there; but it was shown him that the British army was wholly insufficient to make head against a Russian force that would assuredly march in strength against an enemy so near to their capital. The end of the conference was, that Sir John Moore adroitly managed to escape from the rash consequence of a total disagreement with Gustavus IV., and returned to Gottenburg, where, under the new phases of the contest, he received orders not to disembark his army, but to carry them to the Peninsula.

Whatever may have been the faults in the character of Gustavus IV. of Sweden, a disregard to solemn obligations was not one of them. He was proof against the wiles and threats of the French Generals, when, after Jena and Auerstadt, they strove to detach him from the cause of the Allies; nor would he separate from the King of Prussia until Frederick-William wrote himself to him to say that his cause was hopeless; and when, after the battle of Friedland, the whole of Northern Europe came under the power of the Conqueror, that true Swedish truth and boldness, which showed him a legitimate descendant of so many heroes, kept him staunch to England, and ready to jeopardize his kingdom in fulfilment of his solemn engagement. He might have readily made peace at Tilsit with France and Russia, but he chose a braver but less politic part.

### 23. INTESTINE WAR AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Russians, at the same time that they were engaged in war with Sweden, were also intent on establishing themselves in the Turkish provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia; and troops to the number of 80,000 men were poured into these frontier provinces. In order to hold these in check, a great number of Turkish troops were assembled from time to time in Roumelia and Bulgaria, but important revolutions now took place in the turbulent populations of the Porte. The Sultan Mustapha, who had been raised to the throne on the deposition of Selim, was sensual, indolent, and ignorant, so that he gave up the entire conduct of affairs into the hands of the Kaimacan and Mufti; and in the rivalry which occurred between these functionaries the former went to the wall. Mustapha Bairachdar was at this time collecting the disaffected to overturn the government. This man was of a bold and enterprising character, but of more enlightened views than were usual among his countrymen, for he had assisted in the organisation of a force upon the European model, called the Nizam-genites. At the head of 12,000 of these men, he now marched to Constantinople, bearing with them the Sandjak-Sheriff, or standard of Mahomet. On the 21st he entered the capital, and made known his conditions to Sultan Mustapha, but he negotiated craftily, with a view of restoring Selim to the throne. The enervated Mustapha, seeking his present ease and pleasure, gladly acceded to the demands of his powerful

subjects, and on the 28th of May he went, as was his custom, to pass the day with his women in one of his kiosks. Bairachdar marched to the Seraglio and demanded the release of Selim; but the black eunuchs in charge of this unhappy Prince asked a moment's delay, which being conceded, they put the deposed Sultan to death, and threw his body among the enraged soldiery. The Sultan Mustapha was then followed, seized, and imprisoned; and his younger brother Mahmoud, the last of the royal and special race, was put on the throne, Bairachdar being at the same time installed as Grand-Vizier. For some months the vigour of this man's character produced a calm, and the best of the Nizam-genites were expedited to serve against the Russians. Bairachdar then, with unabated energy, turned his attention to the fleet, and crews were collected from trading vessels and other craft to strengthen and improve it. Both Sultan and Vizier proceeded with other innovations, notwithstanding the many examples before them of the danger of so doing; and accordingly the jealousy of the Janissaries became soon awakened, and the Ulemas, the Mufti, and the leaders of former tumults, organised an insurrection against Bairachdar. On the 14th of November, a furious multitude surrounded the barracks of the new troops, fell upon the officers of the Nizam-gedid, and massacred all the partisans of the Grand-Vizier that came in their way. Another column of insurgents marched to the palace of Bairachdar, who, finding his personal guards overpowered and himself on the point of becoming a prisoner, set fire to his powder magazine, and perished in the explosion. A strong column had attacked the Seraglio, but the Sultan, placing himself at the head of 4,000 faithful troops, defeated all the efforts of the insurgents. Mahmoud joined to a superior mind an inflexibility of character that now displayed itself. He ordered his brother Mustapha to be put out of the way, that he might obtain for himself all the advantage against his enemies of being the last of the sacred race, and he then sallied at the head of his troops from the Seraglio into the city, which for 48 hours was the scene of continual combat and unceasing horrors. At length the Sultan's enemies, the Janissaries, prevailed, and he was compelled to purchase peace by the sacrifice of all the ministers who had been agents in his reforms; but the force of old attachment to the race of Ottomar saved his life, and he became even an object of care and veneration to the very men who had subverted his government.

These repeated convulsions at Constantinople appeared admirably calculated for the success of the traditional policy of Russia to get possession of this capital of the East, but the Czar had at this time more pressing objects of solicitude and ambition nearer home. The prosecution of the war in Scandinavia, which promised to gain Finland, so long an object of desire to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, and so essential to the safety of that capital, deferred, of necessity, all immediate plans for southern acquisitions, till this province should have been annexed to the Russian Empire, and the state of affairs in Europe had become more settled.

#### 24. INTERVIEW BETWEEN NAPOLEON AND THE CZAR AT ERFURTH.

It had become evident to Napoleon that the Spanish insurrection was assuming a magnitude too serious and formidable to be crushed by other means than the largest force that he could collect. The surrender at Baylen and defeat of Junot in the open field at Vimiero, together with the successful defence of Zaragoza, gave undisguised delight to those who had succumbed at Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland. Austria was now under the administration of Count de Stadion, a man of intelligence, but very anti-Gallican; and the Archduke Charles was at the head of the Council of War of that Empire, and had shown his accustomed activity in reorganising the Imperial army, and placing the landwehr, amounting to 300,000 men, in a state of respectable efficiency. Prussia had been treated with much generosity since the termination of the campaign, but Napoleon was too sensible of the firm hostility of the entire German people to his authority to be doubtful as to the course they would adopt in any reverse that might befall his arms. Russian friendship, therefore, was at this moment his most necessary security, and he determined on proposing a personal interview with Alexander. The Conqueror had flattered himself that he had by his address at Tilsit obtained a very considerable influence over the mind of the Czar, and he resolved to turn this ascendancy to account at a moment when he saw that he had in reality to trust the safety of his empire to the generosity of his Russian brother.

Erfurth was the town agreed upon for this conference, and there, on the 27th of September, the two Sovereigns met. In every matter, great or small, the mind of Napoleon showed that attention to details, and that activity in their prosecution, which are characteristic of minds of the first order. Accordingly, the Grand-Marshal of his Court was instructed to look to the proper guards, ceremonies, lodgement, subsistence, and police of all the sovereigns and ministers who were to be called upon to assist at this grand interview, and that never-absent resource of French amusement, the drama, was provided for, by sending a company of the Théâtre-Français, from Paris, to give nightly representations of the best tragedies and comedies before the royal and noble company. The Emperor Alexander reached Weimar late in the evening of the 26th, and at 10 o'clock next morning the two Sovereigns met on the highway between the villages of Ottsted and Nora. They both alighted from their horses and embraced; and then, after an interchange of civilities and gorgeous presents, both mounted their horses again and rode side by side into Erfurth, amidst the roar of artillery and the acclamations of 10,000 troops. A crowd of princes and inferior potentates swelled the train, a brilliant *cortège* of marshals, generals, diplomatists, and statesmen were assembled, and, for a fortnight, *nothing*, to the superficial gazer, could exceed the splendid cordiality of the pageant. It is related that, at one of the theatrical representa-

tions, which both Sovereigns witnessed from the same box, the tragedy of *OEdipus* was performed, in which occurs the line—

“L'amitié d'un grand-homme est un bienfait des dieux ;”

and, no sooner was it pronounced, than Alexander turned to Napoleon and gave him his hand, amidst the thundering plaudits of all the courtiers present.

But it was not for such courtesies and amusements that this assemblage had been brought together. What passed, however, between Napoleon and Alexander was not reduced to writing, and nothing has transpired regarding it, except that the former admitted at St. Helena that he clearly stated his objection to his Imperial brother's views upon Constantinople. At length, on the 14th of October, the two Emperors took an affectionate leave of each other, when Napoleon returned to Paris, and Alexander to Poland. One overt act, indeed, resulted from this conference, in an agreement to propose peace to England; and, accordingly, on the 21st of October, two officers, one a Frenchman and the other a Russian, arrived at Dover with a flag of truce. The issue of this proposal was announced by King George III., in His Majesty's “Declaration” of the 15th of December, which announced that “the overtures made to His Majesty by the Governments of Russia and France have not led to negotiations,” &c.

Napoleon, on his return to the capital, at once prepared vigorously for the conquest of Spain, and resolved to place himself at the head of an army for this purpose. He called back troops from Germany, Italy, and elsewhere, in order to assemble a force of 100,000 or 120,000 men; and, in a gasconading spirit, he gave directions that the soldiers returned from Portugal under Junot should form a part. He summoned troops from the Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, and required his obedient Corps Législatif to call out the Conscription of 1809, and even a portion of that of 1810. The great difficulty was to provide the money required for setting in motion these vast levies, with all the clothing, sustenance and material they required; but he overcame the finances as he overcame armies, by resolute and determined will, so that, after discussing all difficulties with his finance minister, M. Mollien, he exclaimed : “Voilà les baissseurs vaincus.”

#### 25. NAVAL WAR — CRUISE OF ADMIRAL GANTHEAUME.

Such had been Napoleon's exertions since the battle of Trafalgar, that the spring of this year saw him in possession of 80 sail of the line, including 20 ships recently ordered to be laid down at Antwerp and other ports. In Brest, a squadron of 8 men-of-war and 4 frigates was in the course of the summer made ready for sea. A squadron of 6 sail-of-the-line, with some large and powerful frigates, was also prepared for a start from the roads of the Isle d'Aix. The naval yards of Toulon, Venice, and other Mediterranean ports, were

in full activity, and Vice-Admiral Gantheaume commanded 10 sail at anchor in Toulon harbour.

Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Strachan was off Rochefort with 7 men-of-war, and, in order the more effectually to enforce the blockade, he anchored his ships for the winter in Basque roads. Getting short of provisions, however, the British Admiral quitted his ground to meet some victuallers which had been ordered to carry him supplies, and the state of the weather prevented his getting these till the 18th of January. On the 17th, Contre-Amiral Allemand discovered that only a frigate and a brig watched the port, and, taking advantage of the wind, he accordingly put to sea with the "Majestueux," 100, "Ajax," 74, "Jemmapes," 74, "Lion," 74, "Magnanime," 74, "Suffren," 74, and a frigate and brig-corvette. It was not till nearly a week afterwards, on the 23rd, that Sir Richard heard of the departure of the enemy's squadron, when he hastened to get on the track of the Straits, which he rightly judged to have been the course steered by the French squadron; but he did not reach Gibraltar till the 10th of February. The same contrariety of weather which had beset Sir Richard had assailed the French Admiral, and M. Allemand was obliged to send back the "Jemmapes" to Rochefort in a crippled condition; but, nevertheless, proceeded on his course with his remaining 5 sail, and passed through the Straits on the 26th of January unseen from the Rock, and not encountered in his entire progress by any British cruiser, so that he anchored safely in the road of Toulon on the 6th of February. On the 7th, Admiral Gantheaume, with his own squadron and L'Allemand's united, amounting to 15 sail of the line with frigates, sailed out of harbour in convoy of 7 transports, having on board troops, ordnance, stores, and provisions, and arrived off the island of Corfu on the 23rd, where he landed his soldiers and stores. On the following day, the French Admiral shifted his flag to the quickest sailer, and running down to the latitude of Sicily, returned through the Ionian Islands to Corfu on the 15th of March. On the 16th, having rehoisted his flag on board the "Commerce de Paris," he again set sail with his whole fleet, and running along the coast of Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia, re-anchored in the road of Toulon on the 10th of April, having made a brilliant cruise, but without any result, except the safe landing of the troops, for he had neither encountered a foe, nor added a cockboat to the Imperial navy. The French fleet had been fallen in with at Corfu by the British ship, "Porcupine," 22, the Hon. Captain Duncan, and the "Spartan," touching at Cagliari, learned that Gantheaume had been seen steering to the southward. These reports were forthwith despatched to the British Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, who was at Maritimo already in quest of the enemy. Lord Collingwood immediately stood after them to the Bay of Naples. Not finding them there, he thought to meet with them off the island of Sicily, and arrived at Syracuse on the 21st. On the next day he sailed into the Adriatic, but did not hear that the French had quitted it till the 28th. He then put the head of the fleet to the westward, but it was the end of April

before he received intelligence that M. Gantheaume had returned with all his fleet to the harbour of Toulon.

It was a very extraordinary circumstance that these hostile fleets should, for so long a time, have been at sea and missed each other; for, on the 16th of March, they were not above a degree apart, and continued to approach each other until one made a turn towards the coast of Tripoli, and the other towards Sicily. It has been thought that, had the British Admiral steered straight for Toulon, while the French Admiral continued his cruise, he might have brought it to a disagreeable termination. Lord Collingwood, however, in his correspondence, admits that he did not comprehend the object of his movements, and was distracted by contradictory intelligence, which was often fabricated for the purpose of deception. There is no doubt, however, that he was most eager in his pursuit, but Gantheaume was as anxious to avoid an interview as the British Admiral to get sight of him. On the 23rd of March, Collingwood issued a general order, directing how the ships under his command were to act on first getting sight of the French fleet, but the disappointment occasioned by these fruitless efforts preyed upon his health, and greatly contributed to shorten his days.

#### 26. RUSSIAN AND SWEDISH FLEETS IN THE BALTIC.

Early in August the Russian fleet, consisting of "Blagordath," 120, "Gabriel," 118, "Amgaten," 74, "Boreas," 74, "Eagle," 74, "Michael," 74, "North Star," 74, "Sevolod," 74, "Sta Anna," 74, "Argus," 50, "Hero," 50, "Rapid," 50, together with 12 frigates, corvettes and cutters, all under the command of Admiral Hanichoff, sailed from Cronstadt, and on the 19th arrived in Hango Bay, a port in Swedish Finland. Early in the spring the Czar had published a declaration, calling on Sweden to unite with him in maintaining the principle "that the Baltic is a close sea, with the guarantee of the coasts against all intruders." King Gustavus did not, in reply, disavow the obligation imposed on him by treaty to assert the neutrality of the North, but required that the French troops should be called upon to move away from its shores, and that the ports of the Baltic should be open to the commerce of the world. If Russia sanctioned the occupation of the seaboard by the French armies, and the destruction of the freedom of trade by French influence, she had no ground to stand upon as against Sweden. The brave but unfortunate monarch, therefore, resisted the advances of Russia, remarking with great truth, "that no government is any longer left to its own light and experience; no people to their own lawful industry." The Czar, therefore, now declared war both against Sweden and Great Britain.

The British Admiral, Sir James Saumarez, was at this time at anchor off the island of Langland, in the Great Belt, but Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, with the "Centaur," 74, and "Implacable," 74, was with the Swedish squadron of 7 sail of the line, in the roads of Oro, under Admiral Nauchhoff; and on the 22nd

4 more Swedish men-of-war joined their Admiral at that anchorage. On the 23rd, in the afternoon, the Russian fleet, making a very formidable appearance, stood close into the roads. On the 25th, the Swedish fleet, in company with the "Centaur" and "Implacable," went out of the roads of Oro in pursuit of the Russians, who counted 23 sail, and proceeded off Hango Head. Admiral Nauchhoff, having despatched the "Frederic-Adolph," 70, with the sick to Carlsrona, commanded a fleet consisting at this time of "Gustav IV. Adolph," 78, Captain Lagerstrale, bearing the Admiral's flag; the "Uladislafe," 76, Captain Grubb, the "Aran," 74, Captain Jagerschold, the "Dristigheten," 74, Captain Toruquist, the "Faderueslandet," 74, Captain Blessing, the "Adolph-Frederic," 74, Commodore Jagerfelt, the "Gustaf III," 74, Captain Pettersson, the "Manligheten," 74, Captain Nordenankar; the "Forsigtigheten," 66, Baron Cederstrom; the "Tapperheten," 66, Captain Ficerstroud, and the frigates "Euridice," 46, "Chapman," 44, "Camilla," 42, "Bellona," 42, and "Janamas," 34. The Swedes and British were now acting in close alliance together; the Anglo-Swedish fleet, therefore, consisted of 12 men-of-war and 5 frigates, mounting 1,156 guns, while the Russian fleet mounted 1,118 guns, so that there was no great disparity between them; nevertheless, Admiral Hannichoff thought it his duty to avoid an action, and made all sail away. The sailing of this mixed squadron of ships, old and new, of different kinds, and having all sorts of crews on board, rendered the chase very scattered; but on the 26th, at 6 in the morning, the British 74, "Implacable," Captain Byam Martin, came alongside the leewardmost ship of the enemy's line, the "Sevolod," 74, Captain Rudnew, and opened fire upon her. The British ship having brought her antagonist within pistol-shot, commenced an action with so much vigour and with such decided effect, that, in less than half-an-hour, the "Sevolod" hauled down her pendant, for her colours had been shot away in action. It was at about noon when the Russian Admiral bore up with his whole fleet to the rescue, and Sir Samuel, observing this, threw out a signal of recall. Hannichoff immediately sent a frigate to tow the "Sevolod," and then hauled his wind and ran with his fleet into Rogerswick roads, where he anchored, followed by the two British 74's, for the "Centaur" had now come up, thinking Hannichoff had sent out a division of boats to tow his disabled 74 into the road, when Sir Samuel Hood determined to prevent her being carried away. By great activity and perseverance the "Centaur" ran the "Sevolod" on board just as she was about to enter the port, and discharged her starboard side upon the Russians with destructive effect, and the "Sevolod" was finally surrendered, set fire to, and destroyed, having lost in the encounter 303 killed and wounded. On the 30th the combined fleet was joined by Vice-Admiral Sir James Saumarez with "Victory," 100, "Mars," 74, "Goliath," 74, and "Africa," 64, and Rear-Admiral Hannichoff, seeing the superiority of the force, and nothing doubting their enterprise, moored the Russian fleet by cables to the shore, while strong batteries were erected and manned to defend the entrance to the harbour. Sir

James Saumarez forthwith ordered a reconnaissance to be made, to ascertain if it were possible to burn the Russian fleet inside, and the "Erebus" and "Baltic" were prepared to act as fire-ships, while others were fetched by the Swedes from Carlscrona; but it was discovered that a strong boom had been constructed in front of the Russian ships, so as to prevent the approach of such dangerous assailants. Captain Caulfield, of the "Thunderer" bomb, with "Piercer," "Charger," and "Turbulent," gun-brigs, was now ordered to bombard the place, which he did during a fortnight, but with no other effect than to explode a magazine. Eager in his object, Caulfield persisted in a nearer approach, with the determination of making a more vigorous attack, but Sir James ordered him to desist and move out of gunshot; on which the gallant Captain, with that utter indifference to danger that distinguishes his cloth, returned for answer, "As he conceived his position a good one, he hoped he might be permitted to remain a little longer." Thus matters continued till the beginning of October, when both fleets withdrew from before the harbour of Rogerswick on account of the season, and the Russians made sail for their winter harbour at Cronstadt.

Although the capture of a Russian 74, and the imprisonment of the whole Russian fleet, afforded a temporary excitement to the Swedish nation, yet the departure of the British subsidiary force under Sir John Moore, who now quitted the Baltic for the Peninsula, induced them to regard the contest as hopeless, for the Russians were pouring immense reinforcements into Finland, and, by the end of October, Buxhowden had nearly overrun the whole province with 40,000 men. Bavekrinspon, the Governor, unable, therefore, any longer to await the inevitable necessity, signed a convention with the Russian General in November, and ceded the province to the Czar.

#### 27. BRITISH SINGLE SHIP AND BOAT ACTIONS.

The principal conflicts of the British at sea at this juncture were with privateers, often very bloody and desperate, but not contributing much to the national glory. On the 6th of January, the British gun-brig "Linnet," 12, Captain Tracey, captured the "Courier," 18, off Cape Barfleur; and on the 7th of February, the British schooner "Découverte," 8, Lieut. Colin Campbell, off St. Domingo, chased two privateers with a prize, and driving one to windward and destroying the other two, in defiance of a strong opposition from the musketry on the shore. On the 9th, Lieut. Campbell came to sharp action with the "Dorade," off the same coast, and, after a fight of three-quarters of an hour, compelled her to strike. On the 8th, the frigate "Meleager," 36, sent her barge, cutter and jolly boat, under Lieuts. Tupman, Swinburn, and Deane, of the Marines, to capture a felucca-rigged privateer, in the port of San Jago de Cuba, which was accomplished. Sometime in the month of January, the "Jackdaw" was captured by a Spanish row-boat, but recaptured by the "Minerva" frigate, Captain George Collier.

In April, the "Pike," 4, Lieut. Otley, was fallen in with and captured off Alteville, by the "Marat," a French privateer, but soon afterwards she was, in like manner, recaptured by the "Moselle," Captain Alexander Gordon. The "Kingfisher," 4, had precisely a similar fate. On the 18th of August, the "Rook," 4, Lieut. James Lawrence, having despatches, was attacked off Cape St. Nicholas by two privateers, one of 12 and the other of 10 guns, and captured, after an action of an hour and a half, in which the Lieutenant, his next officer, and 18 of the crew were killed or mortally wounded. On the 17th of July, the "Barbary," 10, Lieut. D'Arcy, was recaptured by the "Guerrica," 38, Captain Skene. The "Redwing," Captain Usher, came in contact with a Spanish convoy off Cape Trafalgar, when 7 gun-vessels formed line and swept towards the "Redwing," as if to board her. Nothing daunted, however, Captain Usher endeavoured to close, and opened on them a quick and well-directed fire; when, completely panic-struck and beaten, they pushed back into the surf, where many of them perished. Of the convoy, 4 were sunk by the "Redwing's" shot, and 7 were captured, 1 only contrived to escape. The brig-sloop "Wizard," 16, Captain Ferris, came across the French privateer "Requin," 16, two very nearly equal-sized and armed vessels. They had a smart encounter of 3 or 4 hours, when the Frenchman sheered off, the Englishman following, and the fight was continued for four days, when the "Requin" came to her moorings in Tunis Bay, which, being a neutral port, the "Wizard" could not attack her. On the 13th of February, the 20-gun ship "Confiance," Captain James Ajeo, sent her cutter and jolly-boat, under Mr. Trist, master's mate, to row guard at the mouth of the Tagus, against the escape of the Russian fleet. He had no sooner arrived at his station, than he espied a French gun-vessel at anchor under Fort San Pedro, and he instantly ran in, boarded and carried her, without the loss of a man. On the 2nd of March, the "Sappho," 18, Captain Langford, discovered and chased an armed brig off Scarborough, which proved to be the Danish privateer "Admiral Yawl," which, after half an hour's close action, surrendered.

On the 6th of March, the frigate "San Fiorenzo," 36, Captain Hardinge, discovered off Cape Comorin, in Ceylon, the French frigate "Piedmontaise," 40, Captain Garon, a vessel of very superior construction and equipment, preparing to attack a squadron of three East Indiamen, which had just appeared in sight. The "Piedmontaise" immediately changed her course and stood away, followed by the "San Fiorenzo," which did not get up to her adversary for twelve hours, when the British vessel ranged alongside the French and received her broadside, but, after an action of ten minutes, the latter made sail ahead, and got out of reach of her opponent's fire. She was brought to close quarters, however, at day-break next morning, when the fight was renewed and continued for nearly two hours, at the end of which the "San Fiorenzo" was so damaged in her sails and rigging, that the French ship ceased fire, and made sail, leaving her opponent utterly out of condition.

for a chase; and, while the British frigate hastened to repair her damages in order to renew the pursuit, the "Piedmontaise" disappeared below the horizon. In the morning, however, the "San Fiorenzo" perfectly refitted, got sight of her antagonist, and bearing up under all sail, in the afternoon reopened fire at the distance of about 80 yards. A well-fought action of an hour and twenty minutes now ensued, in which Captain Hardinge was killed, and the command devolved on Lieut. Dawson. The contest, nevertheless, was kept up with as much skill as gallantry, when the French frigate, having had all her rigging and sails cut to pieces, and her three masts and bowsprits so badly wounded, that, in the morning, they fell over her side, hauled down her colours, and was towed into Colombo, in the island of Ceylon, where the remains of the heroic English Captain were buried with the highest military honours. Captain Hardinge had, on former occasions, distinguished himself, and Parliament ordered a monument to his memory in St. Paul's, and the King, moreover, granted an honourable augmentation to his arms for this brilliant service. He will be also known to posterity as the father of Field-Marshal Lord Hardinge.

On the 13th of March, the frigate "Emerald," 36, Captain Frederick Maitland, discovered a French armed schooner lying in the harbour of Vivero, in Spain, and stood in, with a view of attempting her capture or destruction. The forts, which defended the entrance, opened fire on the British frigate. Accordingly, Captain Maitland detached a party of seamen and marines, under Lieutenants Bertram, Meech, and Husband, to land and storm one fort, while the frigate was pushed in as near as the water would admit, to bombard the other. The land party drove the Spaniards out of the forts and spiked the guns, but were presently met by the crew of the French schooner "Apropos," 8, with whom they exchanged a fire of musketry, when Lieut. Smith came up with another party of men, who had to use the bayonet and pike before they could put their antagonists to flight. The vessel, however, having been driven on shore at high water, no efforts on the part of the assailants could get her afloat again; so they set her on fire, and she exploded. The loss of the British in these actions was very severe.

In the month of March, there were three or four ships of the line ready for sea, or fitting out in the French ports: "Le Vétéran," 74, was still in the port of Concarneau, near Lorient; the "Impétueux," 74, Captain Lawford, and "Saturn," 74, Captain Boys, with the "Aigle," 36, Captain Wolfe, "Narcissus," 32, Captain Malcolm, with two or three small war-ships, lay in a little harbour near, formed by the Glénan islands, in an excellent position to watch this man-of-war, when on the 22nd two strange sail of the class of frigates were seen to approach Lorient, and the "Impétueux," "Aigle," and "Narcissus" forthwith made sail in chase, while the "Saturn" remained at anchor to keep an eye upon the "Vétéran." The "Aigle" first got up with the sternmost of the two in a very dark night, and opened her starboard broadside upon her, which the French frigate returned and ran for protection under the île de

Groix. A blue light was then shown to direct the "Impétueux" to the contest. The near vicinity of land and the darkness of night made the 74 wary, but the other French frigate "La Seine," 40, knowing her ground, ran boldly, with all sail set, upon Pointe des Chats, under the batteries, and in the contest with the two the "Aigle" was rather severely punished, but the two men-of-war passed into the narrow channel next day and saw one of the French frigates on shore with her mizen-mast carried away, and burying her dead, which showed that the shot of the British frigate had done execution. The consort frigate, "L'Italienne," 40, slipped away from Groix and got into Lorient on the 29th.

On the 14th of March, the "Childers," 14, Captain Dillon, discovered a sail in shore on the coast of Norway, and chased her into the small port of Midbe, when immediately a number of boats came out to remove the cargo. Captain Dillon accordingly sent in his cutter under the command of his master, Mr. Wilson, and, though opposed by musketry, and rocks and by stones hurled down upon them from the crags above, a Danish galiot, well laden, was captured. Scarcely had this been effected when a large brig, evidently a vessel of force, sailed out of Hitteroe, and bore down upon the "Childers" with the apparent design of a rescue. The two brigs met on opposite tacks, and the night was dark; but, as soon as the British ship fired a shot, the Danish brig "Lougen," 20, Captain Wulff, stood in shore, whither she was forthwith followed, and broadsides were exchanged, when the Dane was seen to be on fire forward; but of this the "Childers" could not take advantage, as in the confusion she might have been boarded, but the "Lougen," who had retreated within the rocky Norwegian coast, continued to fire, as did the "Childers," whose fire could only be directed by the flash of the "Lougen's" guns. In this way the engagement lasted three hours. Many of the Danish 18-pounders struck the British vessel between wind and water, her lower masts and bowsprits were badly wounded, and there was five feet water in her hold when her magazine was afloat, so that both antagonists declined, after a time, to continue the contest. On the 19th of June, the same Danish brig, "Lougen," 20, came in contact with the British brig-sloop, "Seagull," 16, Captain Robert Cathcart, off the Nase of Norway, when, it falling calm, the British brig could only get within musket-shot of her opponent by using her sweeps. An engagement ensued, but after it had lasted 20 minutes, 6 Danish gun-boats came out from behind some rocks and pulled towards the "Seagull." The unfortunate brig-sloop was now raked by both the "Lougen" and the gun-boats, and in about an hour's time all her carronades were dismounted. Cathcart and 19 of his men were more or less wounded, and the vessel perfectly disabled. He, however, sustained this unequal fight for nearly another hour, when with five feet of water in her hold, and her sails and rigging cut to pieces, the "Seagull" went down. On the 22nd of March, the "Stately," 64, Captain George Parker, and "Nassau," 64, Captain Robert Campbell, discerned a strange sail in the Great Belt, which was afterwards ascer-

tained to be the Danish man-of-war, "Prinds Christian Frederick," 74, Captain Jessen. A running fight ensued, with great obstinacy on both sides, for two hours, when the Dane struck her colours; but, before the first lieutenant of the "Stately" could take possession, so near were they to the coast of Jutland, the prize grounded; and, as she could not be got off, she was set on fire and blown up, after her crew were removed as prisoners. It is scarcely surprising that with such disparity of force the Danish man-of-war should succumb, but the seamanship, vigilance, and perseverance with which the British captains pursued the enemy in so dangerous a channel of his own coast, merited great praise; and the unexpected sight had considerable effect upon the French Marshal in command in the island of Zealand, who was thus frustrated in his endeavours to prevent the liberation of Romagna's Spanish army. On the 23rd of April, the "Daphne," 20, Captain Mason, "Tartarus," 18, Captain Russell, and "Forward," 12, Lieutenant Sheils, destroyed a Danish sloop, part of a convoy lying at Floodstrand, destined for Norway. Captain Mason despatched the boats under Lieutenant Elliott to get hold of the rest of the convoy, which were found to consist of about a dozen vessels deeply laden with grain and provisions, moored under a castle mounting 10 guns, and all made fast to the shore by hawsers. A heavy fire of round and grape saluted the boats, but the Danes at once abandoned their vessels to their fate. Lieutenant Elliott and his party accordingly brought away the laden vessels, though he and another were wounded in the fight with the crews on the beach, and a Danish boat which had the temerity to try to stop them was also captured. On the 29th, the "Falcon," 16, Lieutenant John Price, discovered 9 large boats on the beach of the island of Endelau, with some troops near them. He therefore detached 3 boats, who burned 8 of them without much opposition, and succeeded in destroying 6 other small craft at the island of Thunoe. On the 3rd of May, the "Falcon" saw a large Danish man-of-war schooner attempting to escape from Arlures, and forced it back into port, where lay other armed vessels. Here he received information that they were fortifying the island of Samsoe, on which they had newly mounted 50 guns; he therefore detached boats every night to interrupt their works, and on the 7th captured two vessels containing a 13-inch mortar and 400 shells, notwithstanding a heavy but ill-directed fire of great guns and musketry from the shore. On the 24th of May, the "Swan," 10, Lieutenant Lucas, going with despatches to Sir Samuel Hood, observed a cutter-rigged vessel standing towards her from the island of Bornholm. The strange vessel as well as the batteries on the island opened fire upon the "Swan," who, however, got within pistol-shot of the craft, which, after an engagement of 20 minutes, blew up. The frigate, "Tartar," 32, Captain Bettesworth, had been sent out of Leith road in the beginning of May, to endeavour to intercept the Dutch frigate, "Gelderland," 36, Captain Pool, which had been sent in March with a convoy to Batavia, but having sprung a leak had since put into Bergen roads. When Captain Bettesworth

reached the coast on the 12th of May, the frigate was gone; he, however, determined, as he was there, to carry off three privateers, which were at Bergen, and taking to his boats went up to the town, where he was stopped by a guard-boat, which Lieutenant Sykes in command took possession of. The alarm of this attack awoke the batteries, and the Captain, finding the ships protected by a chain, pulled back again to the frigate. Next day the "Tartar" was attacked by an armed schooner and 5 gun-boats, with a detachment of troops on board. Assuming a good position under a rocky point from which they could fire with good effect, they soon hulled the frigate in several places, and greatly damaged her rigging and sails. One shot killed Captain Bettsworth, when the command devolved, under these critical circumstances, upon Lieutenant Caiger. With great exertions he brought the frigate's broadside to bear upon his assailants, and sunk one of the gun-boats, when a light breeze springing up he availed himself of it to wear and stand towards the remainder, which he forced to retire under the protection of their batteries. Having got rid of his enemy, he at length, by the aid of his boats, got clear of the difficult channel, and stood out to sea. On the 20th, he returned to Leith with the body of his much-respected Captain on board, but with only one seaman killed and a few slightly wounded. The "Gelderland" and her convoy had not, however, proceeded far when, on the 19th, in the middle of the Atlantic, the "Virginia," 38, Captain Brace, came across her path. The two frigates forthwith came to action, and, after an hour and a half's contest, the Dutchman struck. The "Virginia" sustained the trifling loss of 1 killed and 2 wounded.

On the 4th of April, while the "Alceste," 38, Captain Murray Maxwell, "Mercury," 28, Captain Alexander Gordon, and "Grasshopper," 16, Captain Searle, were at anchor off the light-house of Cadiz, a large convoy was observed coming down close along shore, and, when they were abreast of the town of Rota, the squadron stood in after them. A numerous train of flying artillery and the heavy metal of 20 gun-boats protected them, but did not impede the British attack. Captain Maxwell detached the boats under the command of Lieutenants Stewart, Piper, and Owen Pell, with Hankey and Whyloch of the Marines, who dashed in among the convoy and brought out 7 tartans, laden with naval stores, from under the muzzles of the enemy's guns. The fire of the squadron meanwhile destroyed two of the gun-boats, and compelled the others to run on shore; notwithstanding that during the fight the barges and pinnaces of the Franco-Spanish squadron of 7 sail of the line in the port had joined the gun-boats, and it was in sight of this hostile fleet that the affair took place. The "Grasshopper" was the most distinguished combatant, and Captain Maxwell reports in his despatches that it was a general cry in the ships, "Only look how nobly the brig behaves!" In the same month the frigate, "Nymph," 36, Captain Conway Shipley, and sloop, "Blossom," 18, Captain Pigot, cruising off Lisbon, heard that a brig-corvette, "Garota," 20, was lying under Belem Castle, waiting an opportu-

nity to escape to sea. Captain Shipley, having reconnoitred her position in person, generously gave the opportunity of the enterprise to his junior, Captain George Pigot, who, however, twice failed in the object, when Shipley therefore resolved to make the attempt on the 23rd, under his guidance, with 8 boats. They got up alongside the "Garota," unperceived, when they were hailed from on board in good English, "My good friends, you had better keep off; you will all be killed if you come on board us, and there are the guns of Belem Castle and a floating battery of 24-pounders enough to sink you." Captain Shipley, nevertheless, sprang into the "Garota's" fore rigging, when he received a musket-ball in his forehead and fell overboard into the water. The Captain's brother, afterwards a clergyman, accompanied the assault, and, regardless of every consideration, called on the boat's crew to save their captain, but he had sunk and was never seen afterwards. Lieutenant Haly being left in command now resolved to abandon the enterprise, and the boats returned in safety on board the squadron. On the 23rd, the "Grasshopper," Captain Searle, now accompanied by the "Rapid," 14, Lieutenant Baugh, fell in with two Spanish vessels off Faro, on the Portuguese coast, under the protection of 4 gun-boats, who, finding themselves chased, anchored amidst the shoals, under cover of a battery. The two ships immediately ran up within musket-shot of its guns, and compelled two of the gun-boats to surrender, and the other two to run themselves ashore, when the two Spanish vessels were taken possession of and proved to be of the value of 30,000*l.* each.

On the 22nd of April, the "Goree," 26, Captain Spear, was at anchor at Marie-Galante, when 2 French corvettes, "Le Palinure," 14, Capitaine de Frégate Le Jance, and "Le Pilade," 14, Lieut. de Vaisseau Cocherel, were seen on their way from Martinique to Guadaloupe. Captain Spear immediately signalled to the brig-sloop "Supérieure," 12, Captain Hodge, at anchor a few miles distant, and gave chase. Confiding in their strength, the two brigs waited for the "Goree," when an action commenced; but, as soon as they saw the "Supérieure" coming up, "Le Palinure" and "Le Pilade" made all sail and bore away, and, owing to the French system of firing at the shrouds, the "Goree" was so injured in her rigging that she was unable to follow them, and could only contrive to get back to her anchorage to refit. The "Supérieure," however, commenced a running fight with them, but they both reached Les Saintes, and anchored there under the protection of the batteries before the "Circe," 32, Captain Pigot, and "Wolverine," 18, Captain Francis Collier, who had joined the chase, could get up with them. On the 3rd of October, "Le Palinure," cruising alone under the same command, came across the brig-sloop "Carnation," 18, Captain Gregory, off Martinique. An action ensued, in which Gregory was killed among the first shot, and all the ship's officers wounded, so that the boatswain, a tall daring and athletic man, became, for the time, commanding officer. The French, detecting something wrong on board, took confidence, and became the assail-

ants, and, although William Triplet, the boatswain, advanced boldly to repulse the boarders, and with every means of threat, entreaty, and even eloquence, tried to animate the crew, no more than 8 or 10 would follow him, and the consequence was, that the "Carnation" became a prize to "Le Palinure." Her consort, "Le Pilade," was not so fortunate, for, on the 20th of October, the "Pompée," 74, Captain George Cockburn, picked her up near the island of Barbadoes, and captured her. Nor did "Le Palinure" get off scot free, for on the 31st, the "Circe," cruising off Fort Royal, saw her under jury masts, and, though she got under the battery on Point Salomon before the frigate could get up to her, yet, as soon as she got near enough, an action commenced, and in ten minutes she surrendered, with the crew of the "Carnation" prisoners on board. The brave boatswain was immediately noticed with honour by the Admiral, by whom he was appointed forthwith to the largest frigate on the station, and no one will deny that he would have been a most fit recipient of the Victoria Cross of our days.

On the 28th of November, Captain Coombe, commanding "Le Heureux," 16, having received information of some vessels laden and ready for sea, lying in the bottom of a bay in Guadaloupe, resolved to attempt to cut them out, and headed an attack on them himself. Awaiting the setting of the moon, the boats dashed out, and the Captain boarded and carried one schooner with his barge. Lieutenant Lawrence, with the other party, carried a brig. Before, however, they could be got off, the shore was lined with musketry, and some field pieces were brought up to bear upon the boats, all of which, unfortunately, grounded. A 24-pound shot struck the Captain dead, and Lawrence was wounded in the arm by a musket-ball, but in the end he got his boats safe back to the ship.

On the 11th of May, the "Bacchante," 20, Captain Hood Inglefield, chased "Le Griffon," 16, Lieut. Gautier, off the island of Cuba, and, after a fight of about half an hour, captured her. In the Adriatic the "Unité," 36, Captain Patrick Campbell, captured the brig-corvette "Ronco," 16; and on the 31st, after a chase of two or three days, captured two other brigs, "Nettuno," 16, and "Teulie," 16. On the 12th of May, the "Amphion," 32, Captain William Hoste, on her way to the island of Majorca, discovered the French frigate "La Baleine," 30, belonging to Admiral Gantheaume's squadron, lying in the bay of Rosas. Captain Hoste immediately stood towards her, when she opened fire, as well as a battery and a fort on the two sides of the bay. Nevertheless, the British frigate single-handed was too much for her, so she slipped her cables and ran on shore. The "Amphion" immediately ran up to the very spot where "La Baleine" had been riding, and commenced a sharp fire upon ship, fort, and batteries. She then despatched a boat, under Lieut. Bennett, to bring her away, but her crew brought such a fire to bear upon the little craft, that she was obliged to desist, and Lieut. Bennett retired, after making his men stand up in the stern-sheets and give the French three hearty cheers. The "Amphion," as soon as her boat returned, finding that nothing further could be done,

made sail out of the bay. On the 23rd of June, the "Porcupine," 22, Hon. Captain Duncan, chased a French vessel off Civita Vecchia, and forced her on shore, where the boats of the "Porcupine," under Lieut. Price, effectually destroyed her. The boats of the same ship, under the same officer, when off Monte Circello, on the 9th of July, drove on shore a merchant vessel, under the convoy of two gun-boats, when they saw lying farther up the harbour a large polacca-ship, which they at once resolved to cut out. Lieut. Price and his men boarded her and carried her; but, although he at length succeeded, he had some difficulty in getting her beyond the reach of the enemy's grape. On the 21st, another polacca was cut out and destroyed by the same lieutenant, off the same place; and this officer received his promotion to Commander for these and other similar gallant exploits. The boats of the "Porcupine," on the 8th of August, under the orders of Lieutenants Francis Smith and Renwick, of the Marines, ran into a harbour near Elba, where they found a polacca-ship moored within 30 yards of a battery. In face of all this, the party brought out "La Conception," 4, well laden with bale goods. The Lieutenant of Marines and 7 men were killed in this brave exploit. On the 26th of June, the "Standard," 64, Captain Thomas Harvey, off Corfu, discovered an Italian gun-boat with a French vessel, and, as it fell calm, sent his boats, under the orders of Lieut. Nichols, of the Marines, and Lieut. Cull, when "La Volpe," Enseigne de Vaisseau Mangin, together with "Le Leger," were both taken, after much fighting, but without the loss of a man on either side.

On the 11th of August, the "Comet," 18, Captain Daly, came across a small French squadron bound to Martinique, consisting of the ship-corvette "La Diligente," 18, Captain Lemaresquier, and brig-corvettes "L'Espiègle," 16, Captain Maujouen, and "La Sylphe," 16, Captain Clément. Daly, having approached rather near before he discovered them to be enemies, thought it the best policy boldly to stand on his course, and "La Diligente" outsailing her consorts and tacking to the southward, induced the British Captain to try to capture the two brigs. He therefore first selected "La Sylphe," and having got within pistol-shot, opened fire, when, at the expiration of 20 minutes, Captain Clément hauled down his colours. "L'Espiègle" succeeded in getting away to the protection of "La Diligente;" but on the 16th they were both encountered by the "Sybille," 38, Captain Clotworthy Upton, and, though the larger vessel escaped by her superior sailing, Captain Monjouen surrendered his brig-corvette, and "La Diligente" pursued her course alone till the 6th of September, when the brig-sloop "Recruit," 18, Captain Charles Napier, came across her, and passing within pistol-shot exchanged broadsides. Captain Napier was wounded, but did not quit his deck, and the broadsides continued with little intermission for three hours, when the "Recruit" lost her main-mast; nevertheless, while this lay over the stern, she made an attempt to board her antagonist, but "La Diligente" sheered off and sailed away before the wind, reaching Martinique in safety after all her narrow

escapes. On the 29th of September the "Maria," 14, Lieut. James Bennett, saw and chased the letter of marque "La Département des Landes," 20, Captain Raoul. The weather falling calm the "Maria" was unable to prevent her opponent from getting into a position in which she raked her with repeated broadsides, in one of which her colours came down. On being hailed if she surrendered, Bennett cried out, "No," but at the same moment received three grape-shots in his body, and fell dead in the act of rehoisting his colours. The "Maria" shortly afterwards surrendered, but was in so sinking a state that she was obliged to be run on shore to save her.

On the 1st of August, the "Kent," 74, Captain Rogers, and "Wizard," 16, Captain Ferris, discovered a convoy of 10 coasting-vessels deeply laden, under the protection of a gun-boat, near the town of Noli, on the coast of Italy. Captain Rogers accordingly manned the boats under the orders of Captain Rea, of the Marines, Lieuts. Cashmen, Lindsay, and Moresby, who attacked the town, took the guns which were directed against the shipping, and carried them away, and also captured the "Vigilante" gun-boat, forcing the merchant vessels from their moorings, and brought them away with the slight loss of two killed.

On the 10th of November, the "Amethyst," 36, Captain Michael Seymour, observed a sail running for the Ile de Groix, and immediately bore in chase. She proved to be the French frigate "La Thétis," 40, Captain Jacques Puisun, with troops and stores on board, bound for Martinique, and this being her object she took no notice of the "Amethyst," but pursued her course. Captain Seymour, as soon as it became dark, sent up some rockets to attract the eye of any British cruisers which might happen to be in the offing, and they were answered by three flashes from the "Triumph," 74, Captain Sir Masterman Hardy. A close and furious engagement at once ensued between the two frigates, and, after a couple of hours, "La Thétis" put her helm a-starboard, and steered to lay the "Amethyst" on board, but got fixed in that situation by the anchor of the British ship entering the Frenchman's quarter, for the ships had met at the bows. Captain Seymour now again resumed his fire, when Captain Puisun poured in a double-shotted broadside upon the "Amethyst," and brought up all his ship's company to spring on board the British frigate, but "La Thétis" caught fire in several places, and her brave captain was killed. She was, however, fought nobly by Lieut. Déde, but, as soon as the ships got disengaged, her fore and mainmast went over her side, and, though she struggled manfully and did not surrender till overpowered, the "Amethyst" at length boarded and carried her. The "Triumph" now came up under a press of sail, and soon afterwards the "Shannon," 38, Captain Philip Broke, to take the prize in tow.

On the 12th of November, the three new French frigates, "La Venter," 40, Commodore Hamelin, "La Junon," 40, Captain Rousseau, and "L'Amphitrite," 40, accompanied by the brig-corvettes "La Cygne" and "La Papillon," with two armed schooners, put to sea from Cherbourg, bound, with ordnance stores and provisions, for

the French colonies. On the 12th of December "La Cygne" was discovered at anchor off the Pearl Rock, by the "Morac-Fortunée" gun-brig, which communicated the fact to Captain Francis Collier, in the "Circe," 32. The Commodore immediately called up the "Stork," 18, Captain Le Geyt, the "Epervier," 16, Captain Parker, and "Express," Lieut. Dovers, and made sail towards St. Pierre, when the corvette got up her anchor and ran on shore under a battery. Captain Collier stood in after her, but perceived that the shore was lined with troops and field-pieces, besides batteries. He soon silenced the latter, and drove the soldiers from the beach, when the boats were sent in under Lieut. Crooke, who boarded and carried "La Cygne;" but the casualties from the resumed fire of the batteries were such, that at nightfall the boats of the "Circe" were obliged to be called back without their prize. On the 13th, "La Cygne" got under way again, when the "Amaranthe," 18, Captain Brenton, tried to close with her, but "La Cygne" grounded, when the "Amaranthe," by her well-directed fire, obliged the crew to abandon her, on which the boats of the squadron carried her, notwithstanding the heavy fire still kept up from the shore. "L'Amphitrite" was again discovered on the 19th, by the "Ethalion," 38, Captain Thomas Cochrane, with the ship-sloop "Star," 18, Captain Patterson, and "Express," but both she and the "La Junon" got safely into port. On the 14th of November the "Polyphemus," 64, Captain Cumly, despatched her boats under Lieut. Daly, who boarded and carried the French schooner "Colibri," off the city of San Domingo.

The Turks, after the affair of the Dardanelles, had become open enemies of the British; and the Porte, having ascertained that there was no British ship, except the frigate "Seahorse," 38, Captain John Stewart, cruising in the Archipelago, despatched a squadron to look after her.

A band of Epirots, who had been dismissed from the Russian service after the peace of Tilsit, had taken possession in the name of their former master, the Turks, of the islands of Dromo and Saragino, in the gulf of Salonica, where they led a lawless life, and made prize of many corn and other vessels navigating the Aegean. This fact coming to the knowledge of Captain Stewart, together with a request from the natives that he would check these pirates, he made sail on the 1st of July, and descried 2 ships and a galley coming out of the Dardanelles, which turned out to be the Turkish ships of war, the "Badere-Zaffer," 52, Scandril Kichup-Ali, and the "Alis-Fezan," 24, Captain Duragardi Ali. Captain Stewart continued his course until he came round the east end of the island Scopolo, when he wore to intercept them, and hailed the Turkish Commodore, who flatly refused to bring to; and, accordingly, the whole of a double-shot broadside was poured into the "Badere-Zaffer," which was forthwith returned, and the Ottoman Captain put his helm aport, and endeavoured to run the British frigate on board. This Captain Stewart, with good management, prevented. The "Alis-Fezan" now interposed, and the "Seahorse" turned towards

this new antagonist, and pouring in upon her a broadside at 200 yards, made dreadful havoc on board. About an hour afterwards, an explosion took place on board the "Alis-Fezan," which partly blew up forward; but she soon after got away from the fight, and ran back to Constantinople in a very shattered state. The contest between the other two ships continued, broadside to broadside, long after dark, and the Turks twice tried to board the English ship, but ineffectually. At length, at a quarter past 1 in the morning, the "Badere-Zaffer" was completely silenced, and had lost all her three topmasts. Captain Stewart, however, knowing the treacherous character of the Turks, was unwilling to expose the lives of his men by sending them on board in the dark, to learn whether the "Badere-Zaffer" had surrendered or not, and, accordingly, brought to till daylight, when, seeing her colours displayed on her mizzen-mast, he poured a broadside into her stern. Scandril Ali was now seen sitting in a chair on deck, giving his orders with all the coolness imaginable, and urging his officers and men not to submit to the infidels; but his crew had had enough of the contest, and knowing that all further resistance was useless, they seized the person of their stubborn chief, and hauled down the Turkish colours. It was with some difficulty that he was prevented from blowing up the frigate, but his design was happily frustrated. The first Lieutenant was then sent to bring him on board the "Seahorse," and, at length, succeeded; but he was very reluctant to deliver up his sword, observing that it was a Damascus blade of great value. The Turks had 70 killed and 200 wounded in this action; the "Seahorse" had 5 killed and 10 wounded.

In 1805, the French frigate "La Sémillante," 36, Captain Motard, having beaten off the British frigate "Phaeton," and "Harrier" sloop, ran for the Isle of France, and anchored safely in Port St. Louis, whence she made continual cruises, and captured many valuable prizes. The "Sceptic," 74, Captain Bingham, the "Cornwallis," 40, Captain Johnston, and "Dédaigneuse," 36, Captain Beauchamp Proctor, stationed off the island, had their eyes upon "La Sémillante," who, taking advantage of a clear coast, went to sea on the 21st of November 1807, when she was discovered by the "Dédaigneuse," who, crowding all sail, came up with her the same night, and poured a broadside into her; but she escaped through her faster sailing, and succeeded in gaining Rivière noire. Again renewing her cruises, Captain Motard had the good fortune to capture 3 richly-laden China vessels, and many other prizes, and in the following February, while carrying some of her captures into port, encountered, off Ceylon, the "Terpsichore" frigate, Captain Montagu, who had been obliged from her crank state to leave some of her guns behind at Madras. However, a smart engagement ensued, in the midst of which "La Sémillante" threw some combustible materials on the deck of her antagonist, which produced a dreadful explosion, and set fire to the ship, under cover of which Captain Motard made an attempt to board, and, failing in that object, endeavoured to get away. The "Terpsichore," however,

followed as well as she could, for 4 or 5 days, and having repaired her damages as she sailed on, was coming up with her, when Captain Motard, to make better way, threw overboard some of his guns, and so lightened the ship that he ran his pursuer out of sight. It afterwards turned out that he had been badly wounded, and, but for this, he could have captured the "Terpsichore." "La Sémillante," nevertheless, must have been severely handled after her return to port, for she was unable to go out to sea again as a cruiser, and "Le Cannoneire," 40, took her place at Port Louis. Sometime in the month of August, the "Laurel," 22, Captain Worlecombe, arrived in the Indian seas, and having captured a ship with some French ladies on board, had the gallantry to send in to Governor Decaen, requesting the General to send a vessel to receive them, and the second captain of the frigate came out accordingly with a flag of truce, and passed a night on board the "Laurel." It is supposed that he brought back such an account to Captain César Bourayne, his superior officer, as induced him to carry out "Le Cannoneire" to capture the "Laurel," for on the 12th, the two ships met at sea, and, notwithstanding the odds, came to blows, when, after an hour and a half's steady fight, the "Laurel" becoming disabled, yielded to her superior antagonist. The French ship had 15 men killed and 19 wounded. On the 8th of October, the "Modeste," 36, Hon. Captain Elliott, captured, off Bengal, after nine hours' chase, the French corvette "Le Jéna," Lieut. Morier.

Although, since the capture of the Danish fleet at Copenhagen, almost all their ships had disappeared from the ocean, yet some armed brigs and gun-boats were still sent out on hostile cruises, and did great mischief to British trade. The "Euryalus," 36, Hon. Captain Dundas, the "Tickler," Lieut. Skinner, the "Thunderer," Captain Caulfield, the gun-brig "Tigress," Lieut. Greenwood, the "Cruiser," Lieut. Wells, captured many of these armed craft, though always stoutly contested by the Danes. On the 18th of October the "Africa," 64, Captain Barrett, in company with a bomb-vessel and one or two gun-brigs, sailed from Carlsrona, in Sweden, with a homeward-bound convoy of 137 sail. This convoy reached the channel of Malmö on the 20th, and while the smaller vessels anchored in that roadstead, the "Africa" watched outside the island of Amag, for their better protection. In the night, a Danish flotilla of gun-boats, mounting among them 80 heavy long guns, and manned with upwards of 1,600 seamen, came across to attack her, and next day about noon an engagement commenced and was continued without intermission till dark, in an animated fire of round and grape-shot, which badly wounded the "Africa's" lower masts and yards, cutting to pieces her standing and running sails and rigging, and twice during the action shot away her colours, but they were each time quickly replaced. She lost 9 killed and 47 wounded. Captain Barrett, perfectly cool and composed, exhorted his men to persevere, but, had the daylight and calm continued two hours longer, he must have been either sunk, or compelled to surrender. As it was, he was only obliged to go back to Carlsrona to refit.

## 28. COLONIAL WAR.

On the 2nd of March, the "Cerberus," 32, Captain Selby, "Circe," 32, Captain Pigot, and "Camilla," 20, Captain Boven, surprised Grandbourg, the capital of the French island of Marie-Galante, which, in consequence, capitulated. On the 30th, Captain Selby was sent to take the island of Desirade, which, after a short cannonade, submitted to him. On the 3rd of July the "Wanderer," 18, Captain Crofton, and 4-gun-schooners, "Subtle" and "Ballahou," commanded by Lieuts. Spearing and Miles, landed and stormed the batteries on the island of St. Martin, with the loss of Lieut. Spearing and a number of brave fellows, when the French Governor submitted. Early in February the little fortress of Scylla, in Calabria, which had been hitherto held by a British garrison, under Lieut.-Colonel Robertson, was safely evacuated in opposition to the French army, under General Regnier, through the able co-operation of Captain Otway, with the "Montagu," 74, and "Electra," 16, in convoy of some transports and launches.

## 29. PENINSULAR WAR.

The departure of the intrusive King from Spain was followed by an excess of joy, which vented itself in every species of intrigue for the supreme power. The Junta at the capital claimed an authority which neither that of Seville nor that of Castile would recognise, and at length a compromise was accepted, under which all the most popular Generals, Castaños, Cuesta, and Gonzalez de Llamas repaired to Madrid, and, with singular moderation in men possessed of military power, they took no advantage of the confusion and discord which reigned amongst the ambitious, but honestly tendered their counsel. The result of the deliberation was the establishment of a Central Junta at Aranjuez, under the presidency of the Count de Florida-Bianca, a man of considerable reputation, but advanced in years, for he had been a minister in the days of Carlos III. After some hesitation, the provincial juntas submitted to this supreme one, which entered upon the government of the distracted nation about the first days of September, and prepared to consolidate their means of defence so as to meet the new aggression of the most powerful monarch that ever reigned. The first consideration was to appoint a Commander-in-Chief, but in this they could arrive at no common agreement, for the north and south and east and west of Spain had all their distinct favourites, and would not concede preeminence to any. The only practicable course, therefore, was to institute a General Council of War which should include them all, and which should act in concert with the Supreme Junta. Nothing could exceed the folly of the measures adopted by this body for the salvation of their country. As fortune had given Spain a victory at Baylen, it was gravely proposed to advance to the Ebro in such a manner as to envelope the whole of the French army.

cantoned between that river and the French frontier : that is to say, a mere levy of the undisciplined patriots of the Peninsula were expected to entrap 60,000 of the first soldiers of the day, commanded by the greatest Captain of the age !

Four grand corps d'armée were forthwith ordered to be assembled. General Blake was to command one in the North, composed of the regulars of De la Romagna and Taranco, of the maritime militia, and the volunteers of Galicia, Leon, Castile, and the Asturias, which, it was calculated, would form a force of 45,000 men ; but it was wholly without cavalry, and very indifferently supplied with artillery. The next corps was placed under the superior direction of Castaños for action in the South : this was composed of the division of Cuesta and Pignatelli, and of the various bodies which had been collected for national defence in Estremadura, Andalusia, Murcia, and Valencia : this army was estimated to amount to 30,000 men. To Palafox was given the supreme command of the troops in Aragon and Catalonia, numbering about 18,000 combatants. The fourth was to compose an army of reserve, to be formed around the established miguelets of Catalonia, and the regular troops which had been called in from the Balearic islands and elsewhere : this force was directed to blockade the French General Duhesme in Barcelona. Self-confident as the Castilians are said to be by nature, it creates no surprise, that without organisation, arsenals, or dépôts, they were fully convinced that they required no assistance in their course but the arms and ammunition now sent them with a lavish hand from England. In the height of their arrogant folly, they looked with indifference towards the subsidiary force which Great Britain had landed in Portugal, and which was now, to the number of 28,000 disciplined and fighting men, waiting for orders at Lisbon, under the supreme command of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore.

The excitement caused in England by the Convention of Cintra, and the consequent Court of Enquiry into the conduct of the Generals who had been in command of the British army in the field, had rendered the presence of Generals Sir Hew Dalrymple, Sir Harry Burrard, and Sir Arthur Wellesley necessary at home. Accordingly, the command in chief of the British army in Portugal devolved on Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, who, on the 9th of October, issued a general order directing the officers in subordinate commands to hold themselves in readiness to move on the shortest notice. There was considerable difficulty in ascertaining at Lisbon the condition of the roads leading thence into Spain, and it was rashly and ignorantly asserted that cannon could not be transported by the mountain roads through the north of Portugal. On this information, Sir John determined on the very hazardous expedient of so dividing his army as to send the artillery with a column that should advance through the Alemtejo and by Badajos to Talavera, while the rest of the army should proceed through the province of Beira to Almeida. Lieutenant-General Hope, with 6,000 men, took the road by Elvas ; General Beresford, with two brigades advanced by Coimbra ; and three brigades, under General

Fraser, proceeded by Abrantes to the same destination. Sir John Moore intended that all these separate divisions should unite at Salamanca with a separate corps, under Sir David Baird, which had been landed at Corunna. The troops having commenced their march, the General-in-Chief quitted Lisbon on the 27th of October, and repaired with all his staff to Almeida, where he arrived on the 8th of November, and on the 13th he reached Salamanca, where he halted to obtain intelligence and to assemble his army.

Napoleon had arrived at Bayonne on the 3rd, and immediately applied himself to an enquiry into the preparations which he had ordered to be made for his entry into Spain, when he found, to his mortification, that scarcely any of his commands had been complied with. "Rien ne s'était exécuté comme il l'avait voulu, ni surtout aussi vite, quoiqu'il fut le plus prévoyant, le plus absolu, le plus obéi des administrateurs."\* Of 20,000 conscripts ordered to be assembled, there had not come up above one-fourth. Of the shoes, great coats, and other army clothing, there was not above an eighth of his requisitions provided. These shortcomings gave him great displeasure, for they could only be remedied from France. Corn, cattle, and wine he considered might be obtained in the Peninsula, but not any essentials of army comfort. Having vented his displeasure, "de vive voix et par écrit," he employed the 4th in reviewing the troops and in forming a complete military clothing establishment, and left Bayonne on the same evening. Mounting on horseback, and escorted by the cavalry of his Guard, he arrived at Vittoria on the 5th, where he established himself with his troops *en bivouac*, leaving his brother Joseph with his Spanish Court to the occupation of the city, for he considered himself for the moment but as the General-in-Chief of the army, and was very desirous of avoiding the low intrigues of the Court Camarilla, whom he despised. He had expressed to the intrusive King his desire that no military operations should be commenced before his arrival, but nobody could hold back Marshal Ney, and accordingly he had been on foot for some weeks, and had entered Logroño on the 25th of October at the point of the bayonet, driving Pignetelli's Spanish division into the mountains of Soria. Marshal Moncey had also pushed the divisions of Wathier and Maurice Mathieu into the castle of Lerin, where they had captured 1,000 men; and the division Villette, belonging to the corps of Marshal Victor, had been sent to Durengo in support of Marshal Lefebvre, who had found himself all of a sudden in presence of Blake's army in position. On receiving this reinforcement he at once sent forward General Villette, on the 31st of October, to turn the Spanish right, while he directed General Sebastiani, at the head of four regiments of the old army, to attack the front. The Spaniards did not stand an instant before the advances, but, as soon as they had fired their muskets, disband and ran; and the Marshal having killed or wounded some 1,800 of them, entered Bilbao without further difficulty on the next day.

\* Thiers.

and sent General Villette forward to occupy Balmaseda. These movements also displeased the Emperor, who desired to see the Spaniards in their mad temerity placed close upon his army, whereas Ney and Moncey on one side, and Lefebvre on the other, had driven them off from the French troops and back upon their resources.

### 30. THE BATTLES OF ESPINOSA, BURGOS, AND TUDELA.

While Napoleon was organising at Vittoria the advance of the French army, General Blake, seeing that Lefebvre rested at Bilbao and that Victor had gone back to Vittoria, advanced boldly, on the 5th of November, at the head of 30,000 men, to attack the division Villette, injudiciously isolated at Balmaseda. The old warrior, however, was not to be caught napping, but instantly drew out his troops from the town in battle array. Blake occupied the heights of Gueñas, which commanded the high road to Bilbao; Villette dashed at them, and, forcing his way through the centre of the Spaniards, scattered death right and left, and brought off his division. These proceedings came to the ears of the Emperor on his arrival at Vittoria. Indignant at hearing of anything like the retreat of a French division before the Spaniards, which he thought might inspire them with the idea of a success or victory, he sent immediate orders to Lefebvre and Victor to drive Blake's army altogether out of Biscaya, at the same time rebuking both Marshals very severely. At early morning on the 7th the divisions of Villette, Sebastiani, and Leval were in movement. The mountainous country was so impracticable for horses, that neither cavalry nor artillery accompanied this advance. They encountered the enemy at the village of Sodupe, out of which they drove them back on the position of Gueñas, which Blake had fortified. He had here collected in a strong position 25,000 men, and had his reserve at Reynosa; Victor, accordingly, marched from Espinosa on the 10th in order to attack the Spaniards in front, while Lefebvre with 15,000 threatened their rear. The centre of the Spanish line was well protected by a battery, to which the French had no guns to oppose, and Romagna having his infantry posted in a wood on the right, made a most gallant resistance. The Spaniards, however, did not wait for the French to reach their rear, but as soon as they saw them coming they turned and fled so fast, that a division of 10,000 who were on the left flank were left behind. The left centre being now broken, Sebastiani soon forced Romagna's division to follow their comrades, and the whole patriot army was in a moment disbanded. It was well for them that they retired so quickly, for the next morning Marshal Victor renewed the attack, which the Asturian levies resisted boldly until their chiefs were either killed or wounded, when, disheartened at their loss, they broke and fled. As soon as Napoleon heard that the patriots were so easily to be disposed of, he determined to attack the centre of their army. He had brought with him out of France Marshal Soult, who, with characteristic activity, took the command of a

corps on the 9th and moved the same day on Burgos, taking a strong division of cavalry along with him, under Franceschi. The army against which he advanced consisted of the Walloon Guards and the old regiments of Majorca, Lafra, and Aleantara, with the royal carabiniers and Valencian hussars, and was under the command of the Marquis de Belvidere, a young officer of no experience and great presumption. He had posted his troops in position behind the Arlanzon, near the village of Gamonal, resting his left at the brook, and the right on the park of Vellemer across the road into Burgos; and it was garnished with 30 pieces of artillery. As soon as Soult recognised the ground, he sent forward on the morning of the 10th General Monton with 4 regiments of veterans against the village and wood of Gamonal, supported by the division Bonnet, and these in a very short time overthrew the Walloon Guards who were posted there. At sight of this the whole army took to flight, leaving guns and everything behind them, and rushed into Burgos, closely pursued by the French light cavalry under Franceschi, while the dragoons of Milhaud were also let loose upon the fugitives in the Castilian plains, which commence at the city of Burgos. The inhabitants attempted to defend their streets, but soon abandoned their houses, and the whole was given up indiscriminately to pillage.\* As soon as Napoleon heard of Soult's success, he removed his head-quarters to Burgos, where he arrived on the 11th quite incognito, leaving the intrusive King behind him at Vittoria, so as not to commit his character to the excesses of the victorious French troops.

Sir John Moore received information of these events at Salamanca on the 13th, and two nights later the General was awakened with the intelligence that the enemy were already advanced to Valladolid, within twenty leagues of his head-quarters. The British General was utterly at a loss to conceive that the Spanish armies, of whom he was daily receiving the most flattering accounts from Mr. Hookham Frere, the minister accredited by the British Government to the Central Junta, should be the same of whom every day's post brought intelligence of fresh disasters. Colonel Graham (afterwards Lord Lynedoch) was the British Commissioner with the central army, but his report was only a lamentable history of the disgraceful squabbles that divided the leaders, and gave no reason to the Commander of the British army to expect any effective co-operation; moreover, the entire line of Spanish armies reaching from Bilboa to Burgos had now been annihilated, and he had no certain communication open with Castaños, Blake, or Romagna, so that he was thrown entirely upon his own resources. He could not rely on the correctness of any information he received, but fortunately his mind was endowed with that quality of forethought which is so

\* "A corps of student volunteers from the universities of Leon and Salamanca had joined this army. These youths, the pride and hope of many a generous family, displayed the courage which might be looked for in men of their condition, and twice repulsed the French infantry till the heavy horse came upon their flank, when they fell almost to a man on the spot where they had been stationed."—*SOUTHAY.*

useful in the military character, and he supplied many of these deficiencies by a correct judgment of the probable movements which the enemy might be expected to make under the circumstances.

Napoleon heard at Burgos of the advance of Moore's army into Spain, and directed Soult and Junot to proceed against him, while he sent orders to the two divisions of Laborde and Loison to cross the Bidassoa and occupy the ground which would, in consequence of this advance, be vacated by the two corps. He also directed Marshals Lefebvre and Victor to take up the pursuit of the Spanish Generals. Blake found himself without troops or generals; the Asturians having fled to Santander, and Romagna having fallen back with what troops he could keep together to Leon. He therefore, with all he could assemble, retired on Reynosa, where the Spanish magazines had been established; but not feeling equal to maintain himself there, he continued his flight towards Leon. As he was making the best of his way in this direction with the wretched remains of an army on the 13th, they came on Soult's line of march, who attacked them, captured their magazines and artillery, and scattered them in all directions. Blake was joined at Arnedo by Romagna, who assumed the command of the army, which at this moment scarcely existed but in name.

Napoleon now prepared to launch his thunderbolt on the armies of Castaños and Palafox in Arragon, and, with this view, directed Marshal Moncey with the 3rd corps to remain firm and quiet at Logrono, while Ney with the 6th was called into Burgos, and on the 14th directed to march by Aranda and Soria, to fall on the Spanish rear. By these movements the front of the French army was now changed. Bessières, commanding the 2nd corps, was left at Burgos in observation, and here, as the great base of operations, magazines were ordered to be established and reinforcements to be assembled. A new organisation was likewise given to the troops collected in the Peninsula. The first corps was given to Victor, Duke of Belluno; the second to Bessières, Duke of Istria; the third to Moncey, Duke of Cornegliano; the fourth to Lefebvre, Duke of Dantzig; the fifth to Mortier, Duke of Treviso; the sixth to Ney, Duke of Elchingen; the seventh to Gouvion-St.-Cyr; and the eighth to Junot, Duke of Abrantes. Marshal Lannes, who had been recently injured by a fall from his horse, was nevertheless ordered to mount again, and, take charge of Moncey's corps, to execute with Ney the manœuvre which the Emperor now prescribed. Accordingly, Ney entered Soria on the 26th, Lannes on the same day crossed the Ebro by the bridge of Lodosa, and came at Calahorra upon the Spanish army retiring on the road to Alfaro. The Marshal, however, deemed it advisable to give his troops some repose before engaging them, and, accordingly, rested for the night of the 22nd at Alfaro, but they were commanded to be in order of march at 3 o'clock in the morning of the 23rd.

The utmost discord reigned among the Generals of the unfortunate Spanish army. The Supreme Junta had appointed the Marquis de la Romagna to the chief command, which, however, as the Marquis

was now fleeing in Leon, was temporarily retained by Castaños, between whom and Palafox a disagreement arose as to the best mode of meeting the French advance. The former prudently recommended that all encounter with the enemy should be avoided; Palafox, on the contrary, proud of the fame he had acquired, was desirous of acting on the offensive throughout the province of Navarre. Amid such distracted councils it is not surprising that the entire force had not been assembled when Lannes appeared in their front, early on the 23rd, and forced them to accept a battle. A position was hastily assumed, with its left on the Ebro in front of Tudela, and its right at Cascante, and extending along a range of inconsiderable hills nearly six miles in length. The Arragonese with Palafox were on the right, the Valencians and Catalans in the centre, the heroes of Baylen, under Castaños, on the left. The united force of the Spaniards was 39,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry, with 40 guns. Lannes commanded 30,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry, with 60 pieces of cannon, and resolved to force the long-attenuated line of the enemy by penetrating its centre. The division of General Maurice Mathieu was immediately ordered to this attack, while all the cavalry commanded by Lefebvre-Desnoettes advanced in second line under the fire of the artillery. The Spaniards plied the approaching French column with their guns, and launched forward the Spanish guards, whom Castaños had sent up to the assistance of the centre, but these were quickly overborne and taken in flank by Morlot, who had finished already with Palafox, as had La Grange with Castaños; and the patriots here, as elsewhere, being neither well disciplined nor well commanded, fled through Tudela, some towards Tarragona and some towards Zaragoza, leaving 30 guns and no end of prisoners on the field. Ney could not arrive in time to assist in this victory, and only came up to the aid of his comrade at the close of the battle, when Lannes, exhausted by fatigue, gave over the command to Marshals Ney and Moncey. These two leaders were now directed by the Emperor to push the siege of Zaragoza, into which city Palafox had thrown himself with the right and centre of the Spanish army; Castaños retired on Calatayud.

### 31. NAPOLEON DEFEATS THE PATRIOTS AT SOMO SIERRA, AND ENTERS MADRID.

The battles of Espinosa, Burgos, and Tudela, not only utterly dispersed the Spanish armies of the North, but left the capital open to the conqueror. Napoleon, therefore, having now secured his flanks on both sides from all fear of interruption, resolved to make the central government quail before his arms and accept anew the Sovereign of his selection. Orders were therefore given to march upon Madrid. He appears to have contemned, or held in very light estimation, the interference of the English, regarding whom he received various reports; some placing them in the south at Talavera, some in the north at Galicia, some at Salamanca, some at

Lisbon : the whole force, wherever scattered, as he well knew, by correct information, did not exceed 30,000 men.

He quitted Burgos on the 20th, and crossed the Douro at Aranda the following day ; but as he heard that about 12,000 or 13,000 men of the disbanded army of Estremadura had been collected by Benito San Juan, and occupied the range of the Guadarama mountains, he took with him the corps of Marshal Victor and the Imperial Guards, whom he formed into a division under Savary, together with the cavalry of Lasalle and Latour-Maubourg, in all about 40,000 men, and on the 30th the army reached the foot of the hills at Sepulveda, where he found the Spanish outposts, whom with his staff and a few dragoons he pushed back on Somo Sierra, of which he reconnoitred the approaches, and then bivouacked the same night in the midst of his troops at a small village called Bocequillas. In the month of November, in this climate, the days are frequently of bright sunshine, preceded by two or three hours of fog in the morning. With the peculiarity of his genius, Napoleon resolved to turn this trifling fact to his advantage. He ordered Lapisse to be ready to carry the post of Sepulveda, and the division Ruffin to march at 6 in the morning, that under cover of the fog he might get them up to the summit of the range at the time when the sun would probably break out. At about 9 or 10 o'clock on the 30th the Spaniards gave up Sepulveda without a shot, and saw suddenly with surprise, as the morning cleared, the French army all around them. They would all have run away at once, but that their General had placed sixteen guns so as to plunge upon the *camino reale*, behind the fire of which he succeeded in stopping and rallying them. The fire of the artillery began also to tell upon Ruffin's column, but the Emperor was on the spot with fresh troops, and ordered General Monbrun with some Polish lancers to charge the guns, which was the affair of but a moment. San Juan, wounded in several places, could now no longer stay his men, and they scattered themselves right and left in the mountains, leaving all their artillery and all their officers in the enemy's hands. The Emperor, relieved from all further embarrassment, galloped across the pass and established his head-quarters the same night at Buytrago. Next morning he sent forward his cavalry to the gates of the capital, and moved his head-quarters a little way onward to San Angustino, in order to permit his army to come up with him, and here he was also joined by the intrusive King and his court.

The news of the battle of Tudela and Napoleon's advance spread consternation in the capital, and the Central Junta resolved to remove to Aranjuez ; but, when the rout of Somo Sierra became known, the dismay attained a fearful height, and the Central Junta at once fixed on Badajoz as their residence, and set out with all imaginable haste for that fortress. With consistent arrogance, the popular cry was for defending the capital against the enemy, and Don Thomas de Morla and the Marquis de Castellan placed themselves at the head of some 8,000 men, to guard all the roads of approach. Some defences were thrown up in haste, the walls of the Retiro were

crenelléed, the gates barricaded, and guns were placed in entrenchments behind those of Aleala and Atocha. The streets likewise were filled with everything, in the way of carts and other obstacles, that might retard the enemy's advance. The paving of the streets was taken up, and the women carried the stones to the tops of their houses to fling down upon the assailants. A great number of muskets and pikes were also distributed amongst the people, and ammunition in abundance. It will afford some idea of the wild and mistaken fury that had taken possession of this much-injured nation, that a general distrust of everyone in authority pervaded their minds. The notion was started that the cartridges with which they were supplied were filled of sand, and not with gunpowder. This was of simple proof; nevertheless, it was simpler to take it for granted; and, accordingly, they rose upon the Marquis de Pénales, the Corregidor of Madrid, dragged him out of his house, and massacred him in the street. The tocsin was sounded day and night to lash the population into fury, and at every moment fugitives from the disbanded armies arrived, though they had fallen upon their general, San Juan, and brutally murdered him. The Duc del Infantado was, therefore, sent out in disguise to endeavour to find Castaños, and to give him the military command of the capital; and, in default of any regular organisation, volunteers were enrolled for the defence of the palace of Buen-Retiro, which is separated from the city by the famous promenade of the Prado, and which had been placed in a good condition for defence by the French themselves before they abandoned the capital.

The 2nd of December was the anniversary of Austerlitz and of his coronation; and as Napoleon was a great worshipper of fortunate anniversaries, he rode forward, rather imprudently, with a small escort, to the very gates of Madrid, immensely cheered by the columns as he passed them on the road. He ordered an officer of the Imperial Guard to summon it to surrender; but, no sooner did he present himself at the gate than he was set upon without any respect for a flag of truce, and was only saved from immolation by the care of General Montbrun. For all response, Morla sent out a Spanish General to refuse the summons, but the excited populace, distrusting everyone, required that thirty of their own body should go with him as an escort. The presence of so unusual a *parlementaire* spoke volumes as to the discord that reigned in Madrid. Preparations were immediately made to carry by assault the fortress of Buen-Retiro, but, as the day was waning, Napoleon sent a Spanish General, one of the prisoners of Somo Sierra, with a letter addressed to the Marquis de Castellan, at once threatening and assuring, but it met with no better reply than before. As soon, therefore, as the morning sun of the 3rd had dissipated the fog, the Emperor, in person, ordered the wall of the park to be breached in several places, so that he might pour troops through them at points where he could form his columns for attack. Thirty pieces of artillery forthwith opened upon the *Retiro*, under General Senarmont, when General Villette passed *into the enclosure*, and, with scarcely any opposition from the sup-

posed defenders, who at once took to flight, occupied the barracks, the observatory, the porcelain manufactory, and even the Hotel of Medina Celi, on the opposite side of the Prado. General Maison, to the north of the city, at the same time secured the Puertas dos Pozos Fueneanal and del Duque. In one of these assaults the house of a Spanish veteran officer was entered. The octogenarian met the assailants at the door, leading forward a young woman, veiled, and, addressing himself to the officer in command, said, "I know, by experience, what are the horrors and licence of war. This is my only daughter; defend her honour, and I will give her you to wife with a handsome dowry." It is almost needless to say that the offer was accepted. At about 11 o'clock, the Emperor ordered another summons, and Morla and Iriarte answered it in person. Napoleon received them at the head of his staff. With all humility, the representatives of the capital demanded a few hours' time to endeavour to calm the excited multitude. The Emperor at once broke out into a long and violent tirade, the purport of which was, "Je ne veux ni ne dois retirer mes troupes. Retournez en Madrid. Révenez alors, si vous n'avez à moi parler du peuple que pour m'apprendre qu'il est soumis. Sinon, vous et vos troupes, vous serez tous passés par les armes." Morla, in a very brief space, returned to the Imperial head-quarters, bearing the absolute submission of the inhabitants; but his colleague, the Marquis de Castellan, collecting all the troops he could meet with, took advantage of a gate which was unguarded to escape, in the course of the night, out of the city. On the morning of the 4th all the gates of Madrid were given over to General Belliard. Napoleon ordered the army to be billeted in the monasteries, at their expense, and commanded a general disarmament of the people, and, in order to evince his further displeasure, he would not himself enter the capital, but placed his head-quarters at the village of Chamartin, and ordered the intrusive King to come up to the army, but not to enter the capital. He was only to occupy the Casa Reale del Prado, two or three leagues distant.

### 32. SIEGE OF ROSAS.—BATTLES OF THE LLOBREGAT AND UELES.

In the course of the summer considerable anxiety was shown by the French to maintain their communication with Spain by way of Perpignan, which the patriot bands seriously menaced. In the month of June, a *coup-de-main*, attempted by General Duhesme against Gerona, had failed, and the whole plain round Barcelona called the Llobregat was occupied by Spanish troops, keeping the French garrison 7,000 strong, close prisoners in that city. A sortie under Reille recovered Figueras, but at the same time failed to get possession of Rosas. About this time, in virtue of an arrangement with the British Admiral, Lord Collingwood, the Marquis Palacios, Governor of the Balearic islands, landed at Tarragona with 4,500 soldiers and 37 pieces of cannon. Among the British cruisers appointed to harass the French in their movements along the east coast of Spain, the frigate "Impérieuse," 38, Captain Lord

Cochrane, played a conspicuous part. On the 31st of July, this distinguished and enterprising officer had landed, and taken possession of the castle of Mongal, completely commanding the road between Barcelona and Gerona. He had also, at the same period, succeeded in demolishing the telegraphic communications of the French with their own country. When General Duhesme was compelled by the combined Somatenes and Miguelets to raise the siege of Gerona in July, he was assailed on his return to Barcelona by Lord Cochrane, who completely raked the road, and obliged him to sacrifice all his siege train, consisting of 30 pieces of artillery. Above 2,000 men were lost in this retreat by Duhesme, who at length reached Barcelona in safety, but he now possessed nothing in Catalonia, except that strong fortress and Figueras.

Napoleon, therefore, directed the Italian troops, who had been brigaded at Perpignan in three divisions, under Generals Souham Pino and Chabot, to be formed into one *corps-d'armée* under General Gouvier Saint Cyr, to re-open the communications through the Eastern Pyrenees. They accordingly crossed the passes of the mountains, and sat down, on the 6th of November, before Rosas, in front of which at this time the "Excellent," 74, Captain West, and bomb-ship "Meteor," Captain Collins, lay within point-blank shot, and a well-directed fire from these ships soon compelled the enemy to retire from the town, into which their advance had penetrated. On the 8th, Captain West, observing that the Miguelets were being pressed by the enemy, changing his character to that of a land officer, mounted his horse, and placing himself at the head of 250 of the seamen and marines of the "Excellent," made an attack upon the besiegers, by which they rescued their friends, but at some loss, for sailors, in such a novel description of employment, were not very well organised, and West had his horse shot under him. On the 15th, the French assaulted unsuccessfully the bastion of Trinidadada, and fresh bomb-ships at this period joining the British squadron, their fire galled the advance of the besiegers so much, that they were compelled to raise batteries to endeavour to silence them, which at length obliged the ships to draw away from the shore. On the 22nd the citadel was completely invested, and a breach made in the "Trinidadada," and it was now considered desirable to withdraw the British, who had been sent in to assist the garrison; but on the 24th, Lord Cochrane returned to the Bay, and finding that the 800 Spaniards in garrison were on the point of surrendering, threw himself in the citadel, with about 80 seamen and marines of the "Impériouse." The besiegers were astounded at the renewed vigour that immediately characterised the defence, and when, on the 30th, these made a fresh assault with 1,000 picked men, they were repulsed with the loss of their leader and the greater number of his followers. However, the resources of a French *corps-d'armée*, supplied with all the requisites for a siege, could not be withstood for ever, and, on the 5th of December, Lord Cochrane saw the necessity of quitting the post; therefore, having exploded the magazines, he re-embarked his men, and the town capitulated the same night. Immediately

after the surrender of Rosas, St. Cyr set himself in motion to relieve General Duhesme, who was closely blockaded in Barcelona. He avoided in his march, which was one of great difficulty, the forts of Gerona and Hostelritz, and adopting a way through the mountains, on the 16th carried by the bayonet the position of Cardaden, defended by General Reding. On the following day he found 15,000 men under Vives, posted between Llinares and Cardaden, whom he attacked and defeated, and on the 17th entered Barcelona, to the immense joy of the liberated French garrison. He now found that his own force of 17,000 men united to that of Duhesme, amounting to 9,000, gave him an army far in excess of any Spanish army in the neighbourhood, and accordingly, on the 20th, he again quitted the place, and leaving only the division Lechi in garrison, he marched into the Llobregat with all his power. Here at Molinos del Rey, where the high road to Valencia crosses the river by a bridge, he found the Spanish army under General Rives, well placed, and numbering 20,000 men. On the 24th he moved up his army under Generals Chabran, Souham and Piso, to attack them. The Spanish poured a telling fire on the assailants as they mounted the hill, but, when arrived on the summit, the French found no more worthy enemy here than elsewhere: all fled so swiftly, that few were killed or wounded: they ran, throwing away their arms and accoutrements, and abandoning all their artillery, and General Vives only saved himself by reaching Tarragona. The Central Junta cast the blame upon the General, and, disgracing him, gave his command to Reding.

When Napoleon advanced upon Madrid, he directed Marshal Lefebvre at Talavera to possess himself of the bridge over the Tagus at Almaraz, which the Spanish General Galluzzo had attempted ineffectually to destroy. Sebastiani was sent accordingly to Arzobispo, and Lefebvre drove back the Spanish army as far as Merida. Galluzzo was therefore in like manner deposed by the Supreme Junta for his incapacity and succeeded by Cuesta. In order to complete the history of the dispersion of the grand armies, it may be related here that the Duke del Infantado with the wreck of the army of Castafios and the levies raised in Granada and Andalusia reached Cuenca, but when he heard that the French emperor had quitted the capital he put his army again in motion in the end of December, to endeavour to surprise it. Victor, however, who was at Toledo, was quite upon the alert, and met him at Ucles on the 13th of January, when he fell on the Spaniards in front, while General Ruffin attacked their rear, and utterly annihilated them. The French on this occasion signalised their triumph by great barbarities. Plunder, murder, torture, and violation racked the inhabitants of the district, while the unfortunate prisoners were shot without mercy!

### 33. THE BRITISH ARMY, UNDER MOORE, COMMENCES ITS RETREAT.

When Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore heard, on the 28th of November, of the successive dispersion of the Spanish armies at Salamanca, his anxious and too distrustful disposition became, suddenly, filled with the worst apprehensions. In every expectation he had been disappointed, every representation had proved false ; he had been deceived by spurious promises of co-operation which never could be realised, and grossly led astray by the representations of the British ministers at Madrid and Lisbon. Mr. Frere pressed him earnestly to march to the support of Madrid ; Mr. Stuart, who was a diplomatist of greater caution and sounder judgment, wrote in the same strain. He could meet with no native authority in whom he could place any trust or confidence. His mind became not only perplexed but irritated by the progress of events, and he at once took the resolution of withdrawing his army altogether out of Spain, and of assembling it on the banks of the Tagus. The same day he wrote to Sir David Baird to carry back his division to Coruña, embark them there, and join him at Lisbon, and to Sir John Hope to come up, in all haste, by Alba de Tormes, and join him at Ciudad Rodrigo or Almeida. He, at the same time, communicated his intentions to the British ministers, Stuart and Frere. Both wrote strongly to dissuade him from this determination, and the Supreme Junta sent two Spanish Generals to wait upon Sir John Moore in person, and, if possible, turn him from this purpose. Colonel Graham, however, at the same time, came in to head-quarters with the certain intelligence of the new defeat of the Spaniards at Somo Sierra, and of the entrance of Napoleon into Madrid. Morla, in his letter to Sir John, dated the 2nd of December, at the very moment when he was entering into terms with the enemy, endeavoured to persuade him by the assurance that the patriots had an army in the field of 40,000 men, under Castaños, with which the British army could unite and fall on the rear of the enemy. Bad as Moore already thought of the Spanish authorities, it could not have entered into his conception that the principal chief of the Junta was conspiring with the French to inveigle the army of their ally into the enemy's power ; nor could he imagine that the British Minister on the spot should be himself so grossly deceived, by those who surrounded him, as to send him intelligence and advice without any reasonable ground of truth or hope. On the 5th, he received a letter from Frere announcing that the capital had resisted a first assault, and was prepared to follow the example of Zaragoza, and resist the French to the uttermost, asserting these as facts to urge the British army to make an effort in favour of the people of Madrid.

Overpowered, therefore, by these entreaties and representations thus urged upon him by persons in whose judgment, from their positions, he ought to trust, Sir John Moore, on the same day, altered his plans, and sent word to Baird and Hope to join him with *all speed* and with all their forces at Astorga. On the 10th, Sir

John Hope came up with the artillery and cavalry, and a communication was opened with the Marquis de la Romagna to co-operate with the patriot force under his command, and to this city Moore now resolved to advance. On the 13th, the cavalry, under Lord Paget, entered Toro with General Beresford's brigade, and head-quarters were advanced to Alaejos, and on the 18th Brigadier Charles Stuart, with a brigade of the 18th and Germans, came *aux prises* with a party of French cavalry and infantry near Rueda. The French were perfectly surprised in this encounter with the British, whom they believed to be in full retreat; their whole detachment was routed and either killed or wounded, and 80 were actually made prisoners. An intercepted despatch from Marshal Berthier to Marshal Soult now apprised the General that the 4th *corps-d'armée* was moving on Badajoz, and that Marshal Junot with the 8th corps had passed the Pyrenees, and was moving forward, while Soult himself was in Valladolid. Moore therefore halted his army at Toro on the 14th, and effected a junction with Baird at Benevente. On the 20th of December he moved his whole army forward to within three leagues of Sahagun. Here Lord Paget received information that 700 of the enemy's cavalry were posted in that town, and that it might be practicable to cut them off. The ground was covered with snow, the cold was intense; nevertheless, sending General Slade with the 10th Hussars to enter the town from the side of the Cega, he led forward the 15th and horse-artillery in person by a different route, and at dawn of day fell upon the outlying picket, one of whom alone escaped with the intelligence to the main body. Accordingly, when Paget cleared the town, he found the enemy drawn up to receive him in an open plain. Without a moment's hesitation, the British cavalry charged, and though they most unexpectedly found that they had a broad ditch to pass, yet, with a true fox-hunting spirit, they at once leaped over the obstacle and fell upon the enemy, who fled, leaving two colonels and 160 men prisoners. The head-quarters of Sir John Moore were, in consequence of this success, established at Sahagun on the 21st; but it was necessary for him to halt the army to await supplies, nor could they be put in motion till the following day. Marshal Soult, posted at Saldana, who was in a somewhat critical state, defending the position of the Carrion with 18,000 men, was considerably taken aback by this bold advance of Moore: he made up his mind to march against him on the 23rd, and, accordingly, arranged with the Marquis de la Romagna to move all the Spanish troops he still possessed in Leon upon Minsilla, to aid in the manœuvre. Moore counted on having a force of 23,000 bayonets and 2,278 sabres with 60 guns.

#### 34. NAPOLEON ADVANCES AGAINST IT FROM MADRID.

As soon as Napoleon heard of the forward movement of Sir John Moore, he ordered Soult to retire before him back to Burgos, to which city he ordered Junot also to advance in all haste, while he

ESSLING OR ASPERN.—24. THE FRENCH ARMY WITHDRAWS INTO THE ISLAND OF LOB-AWE.—25. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF MARSHAL LANNES.—26. THE VICEROY OF ITALY JOINS THE GRAND ARMY — BATTLE OF RAAB.—27. SIX WEEKS IN LOB-AWE.—28. NAPOLEON QUILTS THE ISLAND.—29. BATTLE OF WAGRAM.—30. RETIREMENT AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES OF AUSTRIA.—31. WAR IN SCANDINAVIA — CHANGE OF DYNASTY IN SWEDEN.—32. WAR IN POLAND.—33. WAR IN ITALY AND THE IONIAN ISLANDS.—34. NAPOLEON ANEXES ROME TO HIS EMPIRE.—35. WAR RENEWED BETWEEN RUSSIA AND TURKEY — BATTLE OF TARTARIZZA.—36. WALCHEREN EXPEDITION.—37. PENINSULAR WAR.—38. BATTLE OF TALAVERA.—39. COMBATS AT ARZOBISPO AND ALMONACID.—40. WELLINGTON ORDERS THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE LINES OF LISBON.—41. HE REORGANISES THE BRITISH COMMISSARIAT.—42. RISE OF THE GUERRILLA SYSTEM IN SPAIN.—43. THIRD SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF GERONA — A FRENCH SQUADRON DESTROYED AT CETTE.—44. THE SPANISH ARMIES DEFEATED AT OCANA AND ALBA DE TORMES.—45. TREATY OF VIENNA — NAPOLEON MARRIES AN ARCH-DUCHESS.—46. NAVAL WAR — FRENCH FRIGATES SUCCESSFUL IN THE INDIAN OCEAN.—47. BOAT ENGAGEMENTS.—48. COLONIAL WAR.—49. WAR IN THE EAST — PERSIA, SCINDIA, AND TRAVANCORE.

#### 1. PENINSULAR WAR — SIR JOHN MOORE'S RETREAT.

THE weather was dreadful. Rain or snow, with its attendant mud, rendered the roads almost impassable, as well to the pursued as to the pursuers. The latter did not venture to press back the former, for there was at all times readiness enough on the part of the retreaters to stand and fight, and every turn in the road was a position. Indeed, a retreat is always bitter to soldiers ; and a British army is in this respect greatly inferior to a French one, where each soldier reasons like a general, and whether he is ordered away in a movement to the front, flank, or rear, the *moustache gris* knows that such manœuvres have often led to victory, and he therefore consoles himself with the idea that it will do so now ; but the British soldier chafes under the presumed disgrace and privations of a retrograde movement, and becomes, under the mixed feelings it generates, very insubordinate, and difficult to keep in a state of discipline. The Commander-in-Chief, who knew his men well, and who was notoriously of a mild and conciliatory but firm demeanour, was constantly with his rearguard, doing his utmost to restrain the excesses which it is impossible absolutely to prevent in retreating armies. A curious anecdote is related among the incidents of Moore's retreat, and as it is almost a proverb, that what is to be found in a printed book is to be believed, it shall be related in the exact terms in which General Savary, Duc de Rovigo, gives it in his Mémoires : " Nous trouvions beaucoup de chevaux de la cavallerie anglaise mort sur le chemin, et nous remarquions qu'il leur manquait à tous un pied. Nous apprîmes depuis

que le cavalier anglais qui perdait son cheval était obligé d'en apporter la pied à son capitaine pour lui prouver qu'il était mort, autrement il aurait été suspecté de l'avoir vendu."

There are two roads leading to the coast from Astorga, one by Orense to Vigo, the other by Lugo to Coruña. As it was necessary to prevent any attempt on the part of the enemy to cut into the line of retreat, Brigadier Craufurd was desired to take the former of these two roads, and Sir John Moore, with the main army, continued the retreat by Villa Franca. On the 3rd, while Sir John was with the rearguard, 4,000 or 5,000 French, under General Merle, came rather sharply upon the 95th, between Cacabellos and Pietros. The regiment was immediately withdrawn across the river by a bridge, and thrown into some vineyards on the hills commanding it. As the sharpshooters retired, the French cavalry, under General Colbert, came up, and charging their rear, made some prisoners. He then sent some dismounted voltigeurs across the stream, who were driven back with considerable slaughter, and the General, eager to lead on his chasseurs, was struck by a musket-ball in the forehead. As the French now shewed a greater disposition to press the retreat, Moore ordered Hope to halt at Lugo, where there was a position in which he determined to show front and offer battle to the enemy. It may be useful to note in this place, that in a retreat it is for the most part desirable to avail yourself of any strong ground which you may pass over to check the too vigorous advance of the enemy, who is often in loose order, and is on that account more easy to overcome; and also because it affords a moment to reorganise your divisions. Moreover, the chances of success are in your favour, for if you conquer you cheer your soldiers, and give them confidence and endurance; and if you are defeated you can scarcely be worse off than when the advance galls you, and when you see all discipline almost at an end; in truth, you must occasionally hazard failure, as a soldier hazards death for a sufficient object. There was a descent in the road at Constantino, where there is a bridge, and Sir John, apprehensive that this might be taken advantage of by the French, directed Lord Paget to keep back the advance. Some skirmishing, accordingly, ensued until night fell, when the rear-guard fell back on Lugo. Lugo stands on an eminence above one of the tributaries of the Minho; it is a walled town, but surrounded by cultivated enclosures, which offer good cover for marksmen and impede the action of cavalry.

On the same day that the British halted here, namely, the 6th, Marshal Soult had reached San Juan de Corbo. Here he also assumed a position equally strong. His right rested on the river Tamboga, his left on some precipitous and intersected acclivities. No sooner did the British army halt and see a prospect of a fight, than the disorder which had hitherto accompanied the retreat ceased—insubordination was at an end, stragglers came up from the rear, and, hastening to join their regiments, fell into their places. Never was such a revulsion of feeling in troops more decided—it was instantaneous and striking. On the 7th, the enemy had apparently

collected his strength, and opened a cannonade which was promptly responded to by the British artillery, and a feint was made on the British right; but Soult saw that he was not yet in a position to make a successful onslaught, and accordingly he rested his army and postponed his attack, first till the 8th and then till the 9th. The British General was well aware that it would be the height of imprudence in him either to attack the French position or remain so long in his own as to give his adversary the advantage. Accordingly, in the night of the 8th or 9th, the retreat was resumed, and, unhappily, its horrors also. The troops, jaded and half famished, got into complete disorganisation, and a great part of the army became little better than a confused crowd of stragglers. The usual accompaniment of panic would have yielded many prisoners to the enemy if his pursuit had been more vigorous. In so long a retreat much baggage was undoubtedly lost; and at one point it was found necessary to sacrifice treasure to the amount of 25,000*l.*, by throwing it over a precipice, and it is not known whether the French soldiers or the Spanish peasants benefited by the sacrifice, or whether it still remains undiscovered. On the 10th, General Paget, with the reserve, halted at Betanzos, where there was a slight affair of outposts, and on the 11th the army reached Coruña still entire, and without having left a gun or a colour in the possession of the enemy. Jomini says of the retreat to Coruña: "Je n'ai jamais bien compris à cette fugue dont les Anglais se sont bien lavés, mais qui ne le cède à aucune autre de ce genre." Yet the truth revolts against this assertion. An army composed of young troops, and commanded by inexperienced officers, sustains unshaken for eleven days the pursuit of veteran troops led on by such chiefs as Ney and Soult, resting three days out of the eleven; and at the end of its march can fight, repulse the assailant, and embark in his presence and in his despite! This was no flight, nor even a precipitate retreat. But, on nearing Coruña, Sir John saw with alarm that the transports had not arrived; and, although his design was to embark without fighting, yet he had now nothing left but to accept battle in the best position he could select to check the French, who came up to the ground behind the river Mero, on the morning of the 12th.

## 2. BATTLE OF CORUÑA — DEATH OF THE BRITISH GENERAL.

On reconnoitring the ground before Soult came up, the British General found a natural position of great strength—the left resting on the tidal river, Mero, at the bridge of El Burgo, and the right on a conical hill behind the hamlet of Castries; but it was too extensive for the army he had with him, and too removed from the harbour; he was accordingly compelled to adopt a parallel but lower range and to leave the commanding heights to the enemy. This position was indeed a bad one, but it was without question the *only one*; and some of his Generals, impressed with the melancholy aspect of affairs, thought it their duty to counsel Sir John Moore

to propose terms to the enemy. The brave man and truly British General, without a moment's hesitation, peremptorily rejected this advice.

In order to restore the shaken discipline of the troops, they were marched into quarters on the night of their arrival, but on the 13th they were brought back and placed in position. The French were now rapidly collecting on the height opposite. Lieutenant-General Hope, therefore, with his division forming the left of the British army, took post behind Palacio Abaxo, on the Betanzos road. Sir David Baird formed up on the right, behind the village of Elvina. The divisions of Major-Generals Paget and M'Kenzie Frazer were in the rear of the right, in reserve, and so placed as to watch the road to Vigo, by which it was feared that Soult might push a force. Between the positions of the opposing armies the ground was broken, and there were many stone enclosures, through which, however, there was no difficulty for troops to pass. Both ridges ended abruptly in a narrow valley, down which ran a stream to the bay of St. Lucia. On the opposite side of this valley rose some mountains, into which Soult threw his heavy cavalry, having dismounted them to act as infantry; thus the French Marshal seemed to have already overlapped the British right flank. The 13th passed in making dispositions on both sides, and the French constructed a battery of 11 or 12 guns on the rocky conical height, which, in effect, enfiladed the whole British line from its right to its centre; they also repaired the bridge of Burgo, which had been destroyed, and occupied the little town there. On the 14th the enemy commenced a cannonade from this side of the position, which was returned by the British artillery with such effect that he drew off his guns. There happened to be remaining on a hill, a little removed from the town of Coruña, a magazine of about 4,000 barrels of gunpowder, which had been brought from England and deposited there for the Spaniards. Having removed from this as many barrels as was required, the rest was blown up with an explosion that shook the ground like an earthquake, literally casting down boulder-rocks from the crags, and throwing up a vast column of smoke and dust, to the astonishment of both armies. In the evening of this day the fleet of transports hove in sight, and all the despair of isolation was removed from the British General and his soldiers. Preparations were forthwith made for the embarkation of the army. All the artillery, except one brigade and some Spanish guns, were sent on board; the sick and a few horses, with the larger portion of the dismounted cavalry, were also embarked. Many thousands of the cavalry horses were necessarily shot on the strand, in order that they might not become a prize to the enemy. In the evening of the 15th, Colonel Mackenzie, on the extreme left of the British position, thought he saw an opportunity of capturing, by a sudden attack, two of the enemy's guns which had much galled them on the previous day, and gallantly dashed forward with the 5th Regiment; but, in advancing across the open ground, his horse was shot under him, when, mounting another, he had not proceeded far,

when he received a mortal wound which stretched him on the ground, and the regiment was brought back by Major Emes.

To receive battle on the inferior ridge was Moore's necessity, but, as it offered a defence with protected flanks, the General felt that Baird and Hope might be relied on to hold their ground against every attack which might be made upon it: he therefore, with great daring, resolved to be prepared for an offensive movement as soon as time should be ripe to pour down Paget and Frazer's divisions along the valley to the right of Elvina. This was a resolution worthy of a great commander, but it was one which, perhaps, no soldiers in the world but British, and they of England's best, could have carried out. About noon of the 16th, Moore was upon the ground, for Hope had reported that the French line was getting under arms. At two o'clock the enemy opened fire from his 11-gun battery, which could only be fully responded to by 6 British 9-pounders. The whole French line, preceded by a cloud of skirmishers, advanced at once; but the distance of the two positions before and behind Palacio rendered Elvina the first to feel the attack. The division of Merlet, headed by the 2nd regiment under General Jardon, threw themselves into that village, where they were received by the British 50th, under the command of Majors Napier and Stanhope, who, being turned by their right, were driven out of it. Brigadier Lord William Bentinck was accordingly ordered to bring up the 4th and 42nd, and in leading them on Sir David Baird received a wound from a grape-shot which shattered his arm, and he was forced to quit the field. The brigade, however, drove the French out of the village with great slaughter, Sir John being an eye-witness, and crying out with rapture, "Well done, the fiftieth! well done, my Majors!" But at the same moment both were struck down—Napier seriously wounded, and left for dead on the field; Stanhope, unfortunately, with a mortal wound. Moore had himself charged at the head of the 42nd. Some mistake occurred in the order now given to the Guards to go forward in support, and the 42nd having expended their ammunition, thought they were to give place to them and to retire; but the General-in-Chief ordered the regiment back to the village, and then returned to the ridge, when, seeing that the French made no progress against Hope, and that Manningham and Scott's brigades successfully resisted the attack which had been made on the centre, he concluded that Soult had already put forth his strength, since no infantry menaced the valley on the right, and accordingly he thought the moment for his contemplated counter-stroke had arrived. He therefore at once ordered Paget and Frazer forward, when Soult rapidly called in his left column. It was late in the day, which was indeed closing, when the British Commander-in-Chief, while observing the progress of the attack by his reserve, and its effect upon the enemy in the village of Elvina, was struck by a cannon-ball, on the left shoulder and dashed to the earth. With extraordinary energy he raised himself from the ground in a sitting posture, looking intently at the 42nd, who had now been

joined by the Guards. Captain Hardinge, his A. D. C. (afterwards Lord Hardinge), threw himself from his horse and took his General by the hand. His friend, Colonel Graham (afterwards Lord Lynedoch) witnessing the blow, rode off for a surgeon. Lieutenant-General Hope (afterwards Lord Niddry) was immediately apprised of the wounds of the two chiefs, and succeeded to the command; but he made no change in the dispositions of the battle. Paget's division continued their movement along the valley, Colonel Beckwith leading with the rifle corps, and they had attained one of the batteries, when a reinforcement of the enemy was seen coming up against them. Immediately Paget went at the head of the 52nd, and drove back the French column, pressing forward to a considerable distance, and repelling every thing in his front until he had almost reached the great rock battery. Two French regiments of the dismounted cavalry tried to shake the firmness of the column of Frazer, but failed utterly, but the approach of night prevented any further advance. General Laborde, however, made one more attempt to pierce the centre, but Hope's division stood unmoved, and even assailed and gained possession of the village of Palacio, where General Foy commanded.

Thus ended the battle, which not only gave a glorious termination to a disastrous retreat, but afforded an imperishable proof, as by the ordeal of fire, that the courage of British soldiers, notwithstanding much suffering and privation, was as gold from the furnace. They had not only repulsed Soult's attack, but had carried forward their line considerably in front of the ground occupied before the action. General Hope could not have followed up the enemy, as well because of the darkness of the night, as that it would have been too hazardous and altogether beyond the object of the battle to quit the seashore, but he profited by the discomfiture of the enemy (and, as it afterwards appeared, the exhaustion of their ammunition) to order the troops to quit the field by brigades and march through the town for embarkation. To Major-General Beresford (afterwards Lord Beresford) was intrusted the task of covering this proceeding. The boats were all in readiness on the strand, and the measures were all so well concerted by the seamen of the fleet, that the entire army was put on board the ships during the night. The rear-guard remained on shore till about noon of the 17th, when it got off without the slightest effort being made by the enemy to molest them. The Spaniards manned the ramparts when the British quitted, and with great courage held the town against the French for some days. Some French light troops were in the afternoon pushed forward, and a few cannon were planted on the heights above St. Lucia, which fired a few harmless shot at the transports as they got under weigh. Some of the skippers, indeed, disliking the shot flying around them, got into confusion, cut their cables and ran on shore, when it became necessary to burn their ships and to shift the soldiers to other vessels, which was accomplished, and the whole of this was effected without a single casualty.

As Moore was placed in a blanket for removal to the rear, his

sword, from some entanglement, pressed uneasily on his wound, and Hardinge endeavoured to unbuckle it, but, with martial pride, the veteran General forbade him, saying, "It is as well as it is; I had rather it should go out of the field with me." Major Colborne (afterwards Lord Seton), the chief of his staff, then came up to inquire after him, and to report that the fight was over, when he asked if the enemy were beaten, and on hearing the result said, "It is a great satisfaction for me to know that we have beaten the French. I hope the people of England will be satisfied. I hope my country will do me justice. You know I have always wished to die this way." In a few minutes afterwards he expired without a struggle.

At 12 o'clock on the night of the battle, the remains of Sir John Moore were removed to the citadel of Coruña. He had always said, that, if killed in battle, he should wish to be buried where he fell. As no coffin could at such a moment be procured, he was merely wrapped up in his military cloak and blankets—

"No useless coffin enclosed his breast,  
Nor in sheet nor in shroud we bound him;  
But he lay like a warrior taking his rest,  
With his martial cloak around him."

A grave was dug upon the ramparts of Coruña by a party of the 9th Regiment, and the officers of his family bore the body by torch-light and in silence, the funeral service being read over it by the Chaplain.

The French Marshals, with a right soldierlike feeling, ordered every respect to be paid to the grave of Moore, and placed a plain tomb over his body, which has since been enlarged by the British, and bears this simple inscription :

"JOHN MOORE,  
*Leader of the English Armies,*  
Slain in Battle 1808."

Marshal Soult, however, ordered the following inscription to be cut upon the rock near the spot where Sir John Moore received his wound :

"Hic occidit JOANNES MOORE, Dux Exercitūs,  
In Pugnā Januarii XVI. MDCCXIX.  
Contrā Gallos à Duce DALMATIÆ ductos."

The Spaniards, in after years, removed the body of the General from the obscure spot in which it originally lay upon the ramparts to a more conspicuous situation, and placed there a very splendid monument bearing these words :

"A la Gloria  
Del General Inglez MOORE,  
Y sus valientes compatriotes  
La España Agradecida.

Memoria del dia 16 de Enero MDCCXIX.

A monument has also been erected to his memory in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, by order of the Parliament of Great Britain.

### 3. MILITARY CHARACTER OF GENERAL SIR JOHN MOORE.

John Moore was born in Glasgow, in 1761. He was the eldest son of the celebrated Dr. John Moore, author of "Zeluco," and other well-known works. In 1776 he obtained an Ensigncy in the 51st Regiment, and first saw service with the 82nd in the American War. In a tour which he made with his father, he had been witness to Frederick the Great reviewing 40,000 of his soldiers at Berlin. At the breaking out of the war of the French Revolution he commanded the 51st Regiment at the reduction of Corsica, by General Dundas, in 1794. Sir Gilbert Elliot, the British Viceroy, in a fit of caprice, ordered Moore to quit the island, but on his arrival in England he justified himself, and was again employed in the West Indies in 1796, where he obtained so much distinction at the storming of Morne Fortuné, in St. Luciâ, that Sir Ralph Abercromby wrote of him, "that he was the admiration of the whole army." After a fatiguing and disastrous siege he was made Governor of the Colony to reduce it to obedience. He was again called upon active service in Ireland, in 1798, where he was distinguished by the prudence with which he controlled the insurrectionary disposition of the Irish, and suppressed the revolt occasioned by the landing of the French under General Humbert. In 1799 he accompanied the Duke of York's expedition to the Helder, where he received two wounds. In 1800 he accompanied Abercromby to Egypt, and in the battle of Alexandria was again wounded. His gallantry and good conduct on this service attracted universal notice, and he subsequently obtained the honour of the Bath, in 1804. In 1806 he was present at the battle of Maida, and afterwards commanded the British troops in Sicily, whence he was recalled to the command of the expedition sent to the Baltic in 1807. Here he was called upon to exercise all his good temper, judgment, and firmness, in dealing with the mad King of Sweden; but he succeeded in withdrawing the forces under his command without offending the eccentric monarch, and carried them to Portugal, where he landed the day after Wellesley's victory at Vimiero. He remained at Lisbon after the Convention of Cintra in command of the British army in the Peninsula, with which he advanced to Coruña, where he was killed.

He was tall and vigorous of person, and of singular sweetness of countenance. No man made more friends, and the warmth with which, after his death, they defended his honour, speaks volumes for his personal qualities. "Integrity, honour, generosity, patriotism, adorned the whole course of his existence." Moore was an officer whom his King noticed early and cherished constantly, and His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief spoke of him, in a General Order issued to the army on his death, with unqualified affection, in these terms: "In the school of regimental duty he

obtained that correct knowledge of his profession so essential to the proper direction of the gallant spirit of the soldier; and he was enabled to establish a characteristic order and regularity of conduct, because the troops found in their leader a striking example of the discipline which he enforced on others. During the season of repose his time was devoted to the care and instruction of the officer and soldier, and in war he courted service in every quarter of the globe." He was a man who, more than any other, completely acquired the affection and respect of the army, and "the life of Sir John Moore was spent among troops either at home or abroad."

It must be admitted, however, that, like other men, he had his fault, although it has been regarded as "malignant faction" to presume to suppose it. His march from Lisbon into Spain in two columns as far apart as Talavera de la Reyna and Coimbra, was most unsound strategy, for it risked the entire destruction of both columns, since neither could be brought to the other's support, and was the more serious and unpardonable blunder because it might have been avoided by a little personal activity. He commenced his campaign not only without any definite plan, but without leaving behind him the evidence that he had thought of one in his own mind or discussed it with others. Without waiting for Hope and Baird to unite with him, he marched up to the Douro, and then as hastily countermanded both Generals in their advance, when he moved forward himself on Valladolid, and at this time had not determined whether his base should be Lisbon or Galicia. Doubtless the state of affairs at this period justified some indecision, since they were contrary to any conceivable anticipations: for three very large Spanish armies had melted away one after the other at sight of the enemy, like a sudden thaw in a night, and in an instant he stood alone before the approach of the mighty Conqueror himself, who was drawing the noose of a combined accumulation of forces around him, isolated and, as we have seen, without a plan. His retreat was (however paradoxical it may seem) the most brilliant event of his military career. It was quite equal, if not indeed much superior, to that made by Moreau, before the Archduke Charles in 1796. Moore's army was not so experienced nor so well in hand as that which was composed of the veterans of France; and Moreau had no allies, nor any apprehension of enemies in his rear, either to reply upon or impede him. The British General, on the contrary, was led to suppose himself to be in the midst of friends, and found himself in the twinkling of an eye without the support of one, and surrounded on every side by enemies, with the impracticable ocean behind him. There was something, indeed, greatly to be admired in the spirit with which he could, under such disadvantages, boldly march to attack Soult at Valladolid. It may be remarked that Sir John Moore, judiciously leading most admirable troops, never permitted the enemy who pursued him to make a single blow at him from behind. When it was attempted by Lefebvre-Desnoettes, that general was foiled, and paid for it in his person. *When Colbret tried to strike, he was hurled to the earth. No one could*

have better studied ground for checking the pursuit than Moore did. When he halted at Lugo, Soult, the first of Napoleon's lieutenants, stood aghast at the strength of his position, and pulling up his army, made no attempt to assail it; and at last, when at Coruña, he had well reconnoitred the features of the country, with surprising judgment he decided that he could make a better stand in the worse ground with such an army as he could rely upon, than risk the dangers of a too advanced and extensive line in the better position; and it was a daring act to give up to his adversary the heights which would command his army, with the conviction that he could not only shield himself, but make his foe afraid of him. The plan which he formed, to convert his defence into an attack in the midst of the fight, was worthy of Napoleon himself. On the whole, however, he can only claim a place among leaders of armies of great respectability. With enormous native bravery, he was too irresolute in action and too sensitive and apprehensive of responsibility to give him a niche in the great pantheon of military fame. Such as Moore was, however, England is still justly proud of him, and may well desire to see a race of officers formed on his model.

Lieutenant-General Sir David Baird, after the amputation of his arm, recovered his health, and lived many years; but, although he had seen much brilliant service, his military character does not come before us in any prominent degree. His career was, however, a most remarkable one, and it may be a useful study for officers who are often impatient at not receiving rewards equal to their services. While a Captain he was second in command, and became temporary commander on the death of his superior officer, in the war against Hyder Ali in 1780, when he was taken prisoner and confined in a dungeon. In 1793, when a Lieutenant-colonel, he was second in command in a campaign against Tippoo. He was second in command and led the storming party at Seringapatam in 1799. He was named to the command of an expedition to Egypt, which he reached too late for the battle of Alexandria, and found himself superseded by Hutchinson. After his return to India in 1803, he was placed below Wellesley, his junior, in the Mahratta War, and returned home in disgust. For a short period he was in chief command at the Cape in 1806, but was recalled. He was second in command under Moore at Coruña, but being wounded in the battle, as well as his principal, he never attained to the command; and, although he received the Bath and a baronetcy, yet he was not again employed in the field, and died under the conviction that he was ill used in not having a peerage, for which he never ceased to ask. He was evidently a man who merited better fortune; and the moral perceptions of the British people must be blunted when they shall cease to venerate such an one's memory.

During the retreat, Major-General Anstruther died from the inclemency of the season, and was buried on the ramparts of Coruña, near the grave of his comrade. He had honourably distinguished himself in his career by zeal, gallantry, and talent.

**4. ULTERIOR OPERATIONS IN THE NORTH OF SPAIN.**

The column which marched through Orense, under Brigadier Craufurd, reached Vigo in safety, where they found transports, which conveyed them to England. They had been followed by General Marchand with a division of Ney's corps, which never came up with them. Coruña capitulated on the 20th to Marshal Soult, and he and Ney here took up their head-quarters together, and established hospitals, in which the sick, the wounded, and the laggards were collected and generously tended, English, French, and Spaniards alike. The former were placed in charge of Charles Napier, who relates an odd story of his revival and capture after he had been struck down. He had been left on the field for dead, just outside the village of Elvina. Towards morning, some French came in from their outposts, and, making a fire, could find no better seats on which to talk over the battle of the previous day than were furnished by the surrounding bodies, which were accordingly rolled up in front of the fire. The heat revived the suspended animation of the gallant Major, and, to the infinite surprise and horror of the Frenchman who had taken possession of him, he resisted the ignominious pressure, and soon acquired strength enough to throw him off. Explanations were soon given, and he was brought to Soult, who treated him with great kindness, put the British hospitals under his charge, and showed him very high respect. A few days after the battle, a summons was sent in to the Spanish Commandant of Ferrol, which, notwithstanding its great strength, was treacherously surrendered on the 26th, when 8 Spanish men-of-war and 3 frigates fell into the hands of the French.

Napoleon received at Valladolid the reports of all these events, and sent directions to Soult and Ney, that their *corps-d'armée* should both rest an entire month in their quarters, to recover from their fatigues, and restore their discipline, which had suffered during the pursuit of the British army. It was not till towards the middle of February that orders arrived to Marshal Soult to proceed by Oporto and Lisbon, and to Ney to occupy Galicia and the Asturias, in order to bring those provinces into subjection.

**5. SECOND SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF ZARAGOZA.**

The victory of Tudela had occurred on the 23rd of November, yet it was the 19th of December before Marshal Mortier moved up to the assistance of Marshal Moncey, who had been directed to renew the siege of Zaragoza. Its investment was immediately undertaken by the division of Gazan, which occupied the left side of the Ebro, and by that of Suchet, who were placed at the right bank. No less a force than 38,000 men was now assembled to obtain possession of the renowned city. The engineer, General Lacoste, had prepared 20,000 siege tools, 100,000 sand bags, 4,000 gabions, besides a large supply of fascines. General Dedar, in charge of the artillery,

had collected from Pampluna and elsewhere a battering-train of 60 siege guns. It will be remembered that, after his defeat, Palafox had collected about 18,000 men, with whom he had thrown himself into that city. A considerable number of peasants had again rallied around him, for the success of the former defence had been attributed to the wonderful efficacy of the statue of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, who was declared by the priesthood to be the palladium of Liberty, and was so regarded at this period by the multitude. Accordingly, the numbers collected for the second defence became largely increased and were considered to amount to 30,000 men, animated by an enthusiasm beyond even what reigned throughout the Spanish nation, and displaying a devotion that knew no bounds. Immense supplies had been collected for the number of mouths which required to be fed, for, with the inhabitants, these were thought to amount to 100,000. All were animated by the best spirit; united as one man. All the most intelligent Spanish officers who had served in the Royal Artillery and Engineers, and were now at liberty from the dispersion of the armies, flocked to aid in the defence by their skill and counsel, and abundant supplies of every kind had been thrown into the fortress by the care of the English, who had sent General Doyle to render assistance in their name. The Castle of the Inquisition had been repaired; a stone wall had been constructed, to unite this work with Santa Engracia; a strong *tête de pont* had been constructed in masonry, to defend the bridge that crosses the Huerba; and in front of the rivulet, the convent of San Josef was surrounded by a deep ditch and increased earthworks; moreover, 150 pieces of artillery were mounted on the ramparts.

The first object of the besiegers was to obtain possession of Monte-Tornero, against which a battery was constructed in the night of the 20th-21st of December, and, under cover of its fire, the position was carried by the brigade of General Hubert. On the same day, General Gazan endeavoured to possess himself of the suburb of Arrabales, which he thought to carry by a *coup-de-main*; the Spaniards, numbering 4,000, swarmed in the gardens and woods adjoining, and completely prevented both surprise and success, although, unfortunately, 500 Swiss, who were in a detached building on the road to Villanova, were taken prisoners or slain. Ground was at length opened before the place on the night of the 29th-30th, and three distinct approaches were commenced at the same time, one to lead upon the Castillo de la Aljaferia; another against La Cabeza del Puente, on the Huerba; and the third against the convent of San Josef, which last was recognised to be the principal attack. Don Pedro Gasca, aided by Francisco Gonzalez, made a sortie, however, the same night, with two squadrons of horse, who, creeping up the right bank of the Ebro, surprised a post, and cut it to pieces. On the 2nd of January, the Marshal Duke of Abrantes arrived, to supersede Moncey in the direction of the siege, who was forthwith despatched to Catalayud to watch the communications with Madrid. By the 10th, 8 batteries, which had been constructed in the interval, opened on the town, and no less than 30 guns directed their fire against San Josef. This post

was soon rendered untenable; nevertheless, it was not till the evening of the 11th that the breach effected in the convent-wall was deemed sufficiently practicable for an assault. In that interval the besieged withdrew a quantity of guns from the convent, for now deeming it a mere mass of ruins, they prepared to abandon it; but, before yielding it up, they made a sortie against the batteries, and met the besiegers, who were advancing to the attack. Palafox headed them, and stopped the advance; but while the French were still in check, the Engineer Daguenet discovered a bridge which connected the fort with the *enceinte* which was still unguarded, which opened the way to the breach for the assailants. There was still, however, an oil-mill, which the patriots continued to hold firmly. At the same time, the fort at the bridge head, called *Reducto del Pilar*, was exposed to new batteries, and on the 16th, that likewise was breached and assaulted; and the ground was now fully occupied by the French along the entire right bank of the *Huerba*. The third parallel was, therefore, traced on each side of this river, to restrain the city within closer bounds, and this was completed on the 21st, after a sortie hazarded to spike the guns in battery had completely failed.

But the cup of the unhappy inhabitants was not full to an overflow without the presence of an epidemic, which was soon generated in a redundant and closely pent-up population. Palafox, however, kept alive the general enthusiasm by his noble bearing and proclamations, which, written in many languages, he contrived to disperse among the besiegers, thinking to induce the soldiers of some of the many nations of which the French army was composed, to read them and desert to him. On the other hand, the priests exerted themselves to the uttermost, exciting the hopes of the people through their superstitions; and one of them, dressed in sacerdotal, had the hardihood to advance, crucifix in hand, to the very trenches, and there appealed to the piety of the French soldiers in the Spanish language; but they were not of a class to be worked upon by religion, and, moreover, did not understand the tongue in which they were addressed.

The whole country in rear of the besieging force swarmed with restless patriots, who put every straggler from the French army whom they met to torture and death. Bands of partisans were formed in the *Sierra de Muela*, where the French dragoons could not penetrate, and these descended from time to time into the plains. The towns of *Alagon*, where was established the hospital, and *Tudela*, a principal dépôt, were daily threatened. The two brothers of Palafox, the Marquis de Lazan and Francisco, assembled near 20,000 men under arms, who intercepted the convoys coming up to the French camp, and, accordingly, supplies already began to fail the besiegers. The delay in the siege-works soon excited the anger and impatience of the Emperor, who now superseded Marshal Junot by Marshal Lannes.

The new Commander-in-Chief arrived on the 21st, and, seeing the necessity of clearing the country of the insurgents who infested the French communications, immediately sent Mortier to attack the

Marquis de Lazan in his camp. The Marshal passed the Ebro on the 23rd, and advancing against the Spaniards at Pendiguerra, fell upon them at Lieinena and at Nuestra Senora de Magellon, where some 12,000 Arragonese were defeated and dispersed. The troops also scoured the whole country on the left bank as far as Huesca and Pina.

The siege was then renewed with increased vigour, the Engineer Lacoste being ably seconded by Rogniat and Haxo. In a sortie on the 22nd-23rd, the besieged got possession of a fortified building on the Huerba, and spiked 2 guns. By the 26th, however, 50 new guns, of large calibre, opened, and the wretched town was overwhelmed with shot and shell. The fire being continued to mid-day on the 27th, three breaches were pronounced practicable, and Lannes signalled for an assault. The besieged employed mines against the assailants, which exploded under their feet, doing great damage, but did not prevent the French from establishing themselves in the entire space extending from the Carmen Gate to the Ebro, between the wall and the rivulet, and in getting possession of the Calle de Quemada, leading straight into the Cocco. A terrible fire now opened from a thousand apertures, and every house and window poured down a leaden shower, from which the troops could find no protection. From this moment was renewed the street-fighting that had signalised the former siege, and which Marshal Lannes, describing it to the Emperor, calls "une guerre qui fait horreur." In order to preserve his men from destruction, he saw no course open but to proceed from house to house by sap and mine. The dwellings of the town were all so prepared beforehand, that they communicated internally one with another. The sap had, accordingly, to be carried into the lowest storey of each house in face of a murderous fire, and when the besiegers could not maintain themselves in the building, they rolled in barrels of gunpowder, which brought down two or three houses at once, burying the defenders in the ruins. The besieged, in the meantime, counter-mined the enemy, and turning upon the assailants, endeavoured to retake the convent, of which the French troops were in possession. In this way the besiegers, having carried the Torre del Pino and the bastion of Los Martires, advanced along the Calle de Sta Engracia, until, on the 1st of February, they attained the great convent of San Francisco, abutting upon the Cocco, thence they assailed the great cross; while, at the same time, they possessed the other end of the Cocco towards the river, by the Convent de Trinitarius. This brought the siege down to the 18th, on which day the University had been blown down by a mine and carried.

On the 30th of January, a parallel was opened against Arribales, in front of which the Convent of Jesus was occupied as an advanced post by the patriots. Six batteries had been constructed on this left bank of the river, whence on the 7th, 20 guns opened against the edifice, which was assaulted and carried on the 8th. New batteries were now raised to bear across the river upon the side of the city which fronted the Ebro, and shot and shell not only fell without intermission upon the Archbishop's palace, but, to the dismay

and grief of the inhabitants, the work of destruction was now commenced upon the palladium of the city, N. S. del Pilar.

By the 18th, the two large convents of San Lazaro and Altabas were carried, and the bridge was rendered tenable, by which all communication between the country and the city was cut off, and Arrabales was definitively possessed by Gazan's troops. This opened a new approach to the interior of the city, and the University being also gained, as has been recorded, there was direct access to its centre on every side.

Palafox had for some time been stricken down by the epidemic, and was at this imminent moment stretched on a bed of sickness, when a sense of the necessity of some supreme authority, at such a juncture, induced him to resign his command. The reports from every quarter showed the extent of desperation to which the defence had been carried, and the Duke de Villahermosa was sent by the new chief to Palafox to mention the word "surrender," but the General was rambling with the fever in his brain, and incapable of giving advice. The Junta was divided in the opinion of its necessity, 26 to 8. A flag of truce was, nevertheless, sent out on the 19th, to ask a suspension of arms for three days; but Marshal Lannes would not hear of such a proposition, and, with much anger, required an absolute surrender without delay. The bombardment accordingly again recommenced from 50 guns, and these the inhabitants made a rash attempt to take by assault on the 20th, while preparations were making on the part of the besiegers to attach to the six galleries which now led into the Cooso as many mines charged with 1,000 lbs. of gunpowder each, which were to be exploded at early morning of the 21st. At 4 o'clock the same afternoon, therefore, a deputation, headed by the Marquis de Fuente-Olivar, made its way out of the city to the Casablanca, which was the head-quarters of Marshal Lannes. Here were assembled the Duke of Abrantes, General Mesurier, and other leaders, when, with some haughtiness of carriage, pardon was conceded to the temerity of the defence, and permission to surrender on the conditions, that all the troops of the garrison should march out at mid-day on the 21st, with the honours of war, but should take the oath of allegiance to King Joseph; and that the rest of the inhabitants, after having been disarmed, might quit the city, to avoid contagion. The fire, accordingly, ceased at 4 o'clock in the morning, and at 12 the garrison marched out of the Puerta de Portello and grounded their arms. The remainder of the gates were also surrendered; and thus ended a siege which, taken altogether, was perhaps the most remarkable on record.

From an enumeration made at the commencement and at the termination of this extraordinary and protracted siege, it has been ascertained that in 52 days, 54,000 individuals must have perished, of which number two-thirds were military, and the rest inhabitants. When the garrison quitted the city, they numbered only 2,400 men capable of bearing arms; of these 270 were found to be so reduced by their exertions, as to be incapable of a march to France, and they were, accordingly, left to perish by the wayside, as a spec-

tacle of warning to the province. Among the prisoners was Augustina, the maid of Zaragoza ; but she was stricken down with fever, and was, therefore, left in hospital. The French Commander-in-Chief did not maintain even the spirit of the terms of the capitulation which he had granted to the garrison, for he meanly despatched Palafox from the sick bed on which he found him a prisoner to France. But Palafox, whose career was fated to terminate with this arduous service, has left a more glorious name than even Marshal Lannes, whose own terminated very early in this year.

#### 6. MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE CAPTAIN-GENERAL PALAFOX, DUQUE DE ZARAGOZA.

Don Jose Palafox y Melei sprang from one of the most ancient and distinguished families of Arragon. He was the youngest of three brothers, and was born at Zaragoza on the 28th of October, 1775. At the age of 17 he was admitted into the military household of the King of Spain, and formed one of the personal guard of the monarch. In this position, however, he was rather initiated in all the dissipations of a luxurious court and capital than in the study of his profession, or even in the athletic pursuits of youth and manhood. Popular, however, with his contemporaries, and probably already exhibiting some of that ascendancy of character which afterwards advanced him to the illustrious position which has conferred upon him a just immortality, he was elected second in command of the Guard after the events of Aranjuez, on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of March, 1808, with the rank of Mariscal del Campo. In that quality he accompanied Ferdinand VII. to Bayonne. Whether owing to his own sagacity or to the confidence of the young King, he became early apprised of the dark treachery that was hatching against the royal house, and accordingly escaped thence into Spain, and repaired to a small country-seat which he possessed at Alfranca, near Zaragoza. Here he appears to have resided some short time in great privacy, without taking any part in public affairs, when a report got into circulation, from the known attachment which he entertained for the Bourbon Court, that the young King himself was residing with him at Alfranca in disguise, and accordingly an order was issued by the Captain-General of Arragon, who had pronounced for the Bonaparte King, that he should quit the kingdom. The inhabitants of the city, however, flocked to their young neighbour's house, and bringing him back with them in triumph, deposed Guillielmi from the post of Captain-General, and invested Palafox with that dignity "por aclamacion general," and on the 23rd of May he was installed Governor of Zaragoza. With all the energy of youth and ardour of patriotism, he forthwith set himself to work to form regiments, which he styled *Tercios*, in which he persuaded the young students of the University and all the retired or disbanded officers to enrol themselves. He himself paid constant attention to their organisation, and in various reconnoissances of the city with engineers and artillery officers, he determined on constructing the

military works necessary for its defence. He then issued a stirring proclamation, which made an astounding impression upon all classes, who readily came forward to give him the assistance he demanded from all and each of them. The French invested Zaragoza on the 14th-15th of June, and, between that date and the 22nd of August, when they raised the siege, he successfully resisted 32 assaults, although one-half of the city was destroyed by the cannon of the enemy. On the 23rd of November he, in conjunction with Castaños, lost the battle of Tudela, but with undiminished spirits, he forthwith prepared active measures again to defend his native city, when Moncey with 15,000 men sat down before it on the 21st of December. The resistance which he now opposed to the enemy was, according to his own expression, "Guerra al cuchillo," and it was not till he was himself *hors de combat* with fever, and the city of his affections more than half destroyed, and almost wholly occupied by the enemy, that terms were proposed and accepted by Marshal Lannes on the 21st of February, when Palafox was inhumanly marched off to France, where he was carried from prison to prison, till ultimately incarcerated at Vincennes, in the dungeons of which castle he remained till the 13th of December 1813, when he returned to Spain in the suite of King Ferdinand.

It is a subject of regret to those who admire his patriotism and his wonderful devotion of self to the cause of his country, that his destiny did not permit him to act prominently in the field in the subsequent years of *La Guerra de la Independencia*: accordingly, it is in the splendour of Zaragoza alone that the name of Palafox as a hero and a patriot is enshrined, but his star will nevertheless shine in the firmament of glory as long as the sun and moon endure. It may, perhaps, admit of question whether this great man was really a general or simply a patriot; but what between his unquestioned personal bravery, and the ascendancy of his character, he certainly united the inhabitants of a crowded city as one man against the common enemy with undisputed success. He evinced very great military prudence in abandoning the strong position of the Torrero, in spite of popular prejudice, in order to concentrate his force behind the walls of the town, and he showed especial skill in selecting the isolated convents and other structures for employment as a detached chain of forts, in preference to any attempt at making the feeble line of the old wall defensible. His surpassing energy, activity, and vigilant supervision of the complicated mass of defenders,—soldiers, volunteers, priests, women, and children,—are all substantial military characteristics, and we therefore justly rank him a most able and efficient commander.

The miserable Sovereign whom he so faithfully served did indeed bestow on him the decorations of his military orders, and create him Duque de Zaragoza and Captain-General of Aragon, but left him unemployed. He was mixed up in after years with the Constitutional party, and eventually sank under an accumulation of diseases at his country-seat on the 15th of February, 1847.

## 7. MARSHAL SOULT ENTERS OPORTO.

The Emperor's orders to Soult and Ney had been, that while the latter should remain about Galicia, the former should advance into Portugal, successively occupying Oporto and Lisbon, and afterwards give his hand to Victor, who had been directed to move by Seville and Cadiz. Soult had accordingly separated from Ney at Coruña, and taken up cantonments at Santiago de Compostella, Tuy, and Vigo. He now marched the divisions Merle, Mermet, Delaborde, and Heudelot, with the cavalry of Franceschi, on the 15th of February, and reassembled his corps, amounting to 26,000 men, at Tuy, near the embouchure of the Minho, and on the road to Oporto by Braga. But upon his arrival at this town, which stands on the Spanish or right bank, he found the river swollen with the late heavy rains, and not a boat to be found. He sent his cavalry right and left to seek for the means of passage, but the Portuguese patriots, having no desire to admit another French army into the kingdom after the experience of that of Junot, had carefully withdrawn every floating thing to their bank of the Minho. At length, the French found a few fishing-boats at the little port of La Gardia, upon the ocean, and one or two ship-loads crossed over seawards; but the instant they touched the Portuguese shore the inhabitants fell upon them and forced them to yield up their arms and surrender. Under these circumstances, the Marshal marched away, on the 17th, to Orense; but he found every defile obstructed, and all the villages barricaded and defended by the patriots. At every hamlet the tocsin was sounded, wherever the road crossed a mountain torrent, so that the advance of Dragoons had some difficulty in making their way, owing to these obstructions. It was the 21st before the Minho was crossed at Orense. Soult now resolved to enter Portugal, by crossing the frontier of Tras-oz-Montes, and marching by Chaves to Braga. He was, however, surprised to find the Marquis de la Romagna with a Spanish army occupying the heights of Monterey, where they cross the high road; for, with the usual pertinacity of the patriot forces, they no sooner found that Ney had gone away to Ferrol and the northern provinces, than they flocked to the south to embarrass Soult. The French easily drove the Spaniards across the Tierra Segundera to Sanabria and the valley of the Syl, and then continuing their march to Verin, crossed the frontier, and arrived before Chaves on the 4th of March. Here the Marshal found himself opposed to the Portuguese levies under Generals Sylveira and Freire. As soon as he discovered the obstacles which thus early beset him, he disengaged himself of his sick and siege guns; these he sent back, under an escort of 2,000 men, to form a *place-d'armes* at Tuy, while he prepared to force his way onward. But the Portuguese, instigated by British officers, who had been sent to organise them, stubbornly held the position behind Chaves against the French advance, when the general, having in vain summoned the town, was obliged to order his troops to bivouac under its walls until the 2nd, when the people gave way and admitted the French army.

On the 15th, Soult renewed his march on Braga. Franceschi, with the cavalry leading, had incessant obstacles to contend with as he proceeded, for crowds of half-armed peasants, with priests, monks, and women, so covered the line of march, that in every narrow defile, though giving way before the cavalry, they were again found by the advancing infantry divisions, in a mass which required some time to dissipate. They at length arrived under the height of the Cavado, on the 17th, where Freire, with 17,000 or 18,000 men, was stationed, to oppose their further progress. The General, however, had received instructions to retire on Oporto; but, on the order for retreat being given, the peasantry suspecting treason, rose upon him and his staff and brutally murdered them. They then called on Baron d'Eben, a German officer in the British service, to assume the command, who, on the 18th, had no alternative but to march the patriots to the attack — an indiscretion which Soult spared him, by advancing himself against him, and soon carrying the position with little loss. The fugitives fled to Braga, which the enemy entered with them in hot pursuit, and drove them back many leagues beyond it. The Marshal placed his head-quarters there; but he now found his line of communication with the *place-d'armes* which he had established at Tuy, and to which a direct road led from Braga, blockaded by the patriot levies. In this emergency, he sent General Heudelot to open and maintain the communication, and, availing himself of the magazines he found at Braga to relieve the immediate necessities of his troops, he marched forward on Oporto.

This city, the second in importance of the kingdom of Portugal, and the great entrepôt of the whole wine district of the Douro, had been carefully fortified by many detached works to cover the encampment of some 20,000 men under the Bishop, who was the head of the Junta, and who was resolved to defend it with 200 pieces of cannon. The patriots had offered some slight resistance to the advance of Franceschi at Falperra, on the banks of the Abo, but, forced to retire, they again fell upon their leader, Brigadier Vallongo, and killed him. At length on the 27th, the date the French army took up a position before Oporto, Marshal Soult was anxious to avert the inevitable horrors of an assault, and with that view sent in General Foy to persuade the Bishop to come to terms; but the people mistook this General for Loison, whom they called *Maneta*, and very nearly put him to death, so that he was saved with difficulty, by being thrown into prison to conceal him from the enraged people. All his endeavours having proved vain, he issued orders on the 29th to storm the city, and the army in three columns made a brisk and vigorous entry. The right was led by General Merle, the centre by Generals Mermet and Lahonssage, and the left by Laborde and Franceschi. The tocsin sounded from the city towers, the artillery thundered, the musketry resounded, the soldiers cheered, and the air was filled with the cries of the men, women, and children. Nothing, however, could withstand an assault led with unshaken bravery and consummate skill, and havoc was let loose in the streets of the

unhappy city. The lines, the guns, and the redoubts, were carried in a moment by the French bayonet, driving onward a terrified and helpless crowd, who fled to the bridge, which yielded to their weight, and many sunk with it into the waters, while others rushed into the river and were drowned. The Bishop's palace was occupied by 200 men, who fired resolutely on the French advance; but it was stormed, and all were put to the sword. Every street and every house rang with the noise of combatants, and with the shrieks of distress. The numbers who were exterminated in the storming of Oporto cannot be thought of without horror. It is said that many thousands perished on that disastrous 29th of March. The resources derived from the possession of the city were of great value to the French army — vast supplies of food and wine were of course found in the stores, and a great amount of war material which had been sent thither from England, to arm the population. But the rage of the people against the French could not be appeased. Their fury was painfully visible on every highway; and on the great road to Coimbra the fugitive soldiers rallied under the first leader they could find, and formed themselves into an army.

It must be recorded however, to the honour of Marshal Soult, that he exerted himself personally, and with all the authority of his officers, to abate the anger of the exasperated community; nor did he exact any contribution on the unfortunate city—he even ordered plunder, wherever it could be recovered, to be restored to the owners; but, though merciful in victory, he was stern in his justice, and when his friend Colonel Lamett was waylaid and inhumanly murdered at Drifana, when returning to the camp from a visit to the Commander-in-Chief, he sent General Thornières with a brigade, to burn that village, and ordered five or six persons suspected of the murder to be shot. Soult was now so completely separated from the army in Spain, that he could obtain no certain intelligence of it for many weeks.

#### 8. BATTLES OF MEDELLIN AND CIUDAD REAL.

The intrusive King had again entered and occupied his capital on the 22nd of January. Napoleon, distrusting his brother's activity and intelligence in war, had associated Marshal Jourdain with him in the command of the French armies, who, although by no means the Marshal highest in his estimation, was yet recognised as an excellent administrator and man of business; and it was hoped that he might have influence enough from a seniority in command, (which dated from the battle of Fleurus,) to exercise a due control over the French Marshals, who had already commenced that series of private quarrels which, in the end, hastened the French crisis in the Peninsula. The Emperor had directed that the first corps under Marshal Victor, Duke of Belluna, should move across Estremadura towards Andalusia, in order to act in concert with the Duke of Dalmatia's advance into Portugal, and for the conquest of the west of the Peninsula. Victor was therefore reminded of this order for his guidance; but he raised objections to its

obedience, from the insufficient numbers around his standard, and urged that he could not invade Andalusia with a force of 23,000 or 24,000 men, when Dupont had succumbed with 40,000. He was, however, relieved from every duty north of the Sierra Morena by being superseded in the command of La Mancha by a new corps placed under General Sebastiani; and his army being thus wholly available, and strengthened by the division Lapisse, he assumed its command at Talavera de la Regna, on the 12th of March. Here he learned that Cuesta's army had recovered from its defeat in December; and that the General had resumed the offensive, by taking possession of the bridge of Almaraz, by which bridge Victor desired to cross the Tagus into Estremadura. The ground adjoining the river at the confluence of the Ibor is exceedingly stony above the right bank, and the ancient bridge had been destroyed; the Duke of Belluno accordingly thought it advisable to make a movement against the Spanish army by passing a portion of his army to the left bank by the bridges of Talavera and Arzobispo, while he brought down his pontoon bridge with his main force to Almaraz. The troops were in motion on the 15th. The German division of Leval, with the dragoons of Lasalle, crossed by the former, the divisions Villatte and Ruffin by the latter bridge, and Latour-Mauburg was sent down-stream with the heavy artillery, to meet the Marshal at Almaraz. These combinations completely answered their object; the Spaniards quitted their strong position, and fell back on the 19th to Truxillo. As soon as the bridge at Almaraz was sufficiently reconstructed to bear the siege artillery, Victor on the 20th followed up Cuesta, with whose army he had many affairs, till on the 28th he assumed a position at Medellin, where the Spanish general was joined by the Duke of Albuquerque, which raised the numerical force of his army to 36,000 men, with which he hoped to impede the French in their passage of the river Guadiana. Victor had been necessitated to leave strong garrisons at Almaraz and at some other important posts in his rear, which had diminished his corps to 18,000 or 19,000 good soldiers. Some high ground, bare of trees, extends in front of Medellin, behind the rivulet of Ortigosa, near the village of Mingrasil; here the Spanish army rested its right, on the Guadiana, under the command of Henestrosa. The centre was under Don F. Trias; the left under Don. F. de Equina. The ground thus occupied was ill chosen; the position was about a league in extent, and the army was drawn up in one line, without any reserve. The French army marched across the Guadiana without opposition, on the night of the 27th or 28th, and at 12 on the morning of the latter day formed their order of battle, which was to pass the Ortigosa with two-thirds of their force. The action commenced by an attack on the Spanish centre with the divisions Villatte and Ruffin, supported by Lasalle and Latour-Mauburg, at the head of the cavalry. This was gallantly repulsed, and the Spanish line advancing succeeded in capturing a battery. But, just as they had obtained this advantage, the dragoons took them in flank, and put them to the rout. In a very few moments the Spaniards were in full flight, and were

pursued with unrelenting severity by the French cavalry, who sabred them by hundreds. Cuesta, with great personal bravery, endeavoured to rally the troops and restore order, but in vain; not a single regiment could be collected. The General was thrown from his horse and much bruised; the ground was covered with killed and wounded, and 4,000 were made prisoners, with 16 guns. The conquerors not only occupied the enemy's position after the battle, but remained on it for some days in perfect luxury during the most delightful spring weather, and in the enjoyment of every comfort from the rich plains extending from Medellin to Merida, on which Victor rested during the whole month of April.

On the previous day, the French army in La Mancha, numbering 12,000 or 13,000 under arms, attacked a Spanish army of 17,000 or 18,000 men, consisting of the fugitives from Tudela and Veles, under General Cartoajal, who had advanced by way of Ocaña and Consuegra upon Ciudad Real. General Milhaud, with the cavalry of Sebastiani's corps, had been pushed across the Tagus, in advance of his infantry, upon Ciudad Real, when the Spanish General, thinking him isolated, drove him readily back, on the 26th, to the bridge by which he had crossed the Guadina, but next morning Sebastiani arrived to his support with the whole of the force, and, assuming the offensive, fell on the Spanish corps, killed and wounded some 2,000 and took 4,000 prisoners, with all their guns. Indeed, no strenuous resistance seems to have been attempted, and the Spaniards, broken and dispersed, fled to Almagro.

Two such decisive victories over the well-organised armies of an enemy might have decided the campaign in other times and in other wars; but the patriotic spirit of Spain deemed no reverse conclusive, and neither the Supreme Junta nor the people were disheartened by the misfortunes of their armies. The French army was for the nonce content, thinking its glory satisfied, and fresh troops were ordered down from Salamanca to unite with Victor, in order to march on Seville. The Emperor was assured, on the authority of the traitor Mórla (now in the intrusive King's councils), that he should soon be enabled to bring Andalusia to complete submission, and that he did not despair of his ability to send an army of 50,000 men out of Spain in support of the new war against Austria; but, before the ink was dry of that despatch of King Joseph, the city of Toledo, almost within sight of Madrid, and between it and Sebastiani, was only prevented, by the opportune arrival of Colonel Mocquery with 500 men, from rising and driving out the garrison; and the communications thence through Ciudad Reale were effectually cut off by the patriots. Between Salamanca and the Tagus the country swarmed with guerillas, who even threatened to destroy the bridge of Almaraz, and indeed this was only just averted by the arrival of a detachment, sent to the support of its garrison, under Colonel Bagneris. Joseph was not at that time aware of the difficulties to which Ney was exposed in Galicia, where it is stated, "pour faire face à ses difficultés il avait été obligé de courir partout, de combattre partout, ne trouvant nulle part que des révoltés, et des fanatiques qui résistaient à sa

terrible impetuosité par une apparence sur ses derrières dès qu'il était parvenu à les battre sur son front." As soon as the presence of General Lapisse could be spared, he had been sent from Salamanca, and Kellerman wrote urgently to request reinforcements, to enable him to retain possession of Leon and Old Castille.

#### 9. WELLESLEY LANDS IN PORTUGAL, AND DRIVES SOUZA FROM OPORTO.

At early spring of this year, the patriots of the Peninsula, to employ an often-used phrase from the game of chess, appeared not to have "another piece upon the board." The British army had been driven into the sea, and Palafox, Blake, Romagna, Del Infantado, Cuesta, Castaños, Sylveira, &c. had all been successively moved out of their places. The great player of the game was still at Vittoria, or hovering on the frontier; and the cities of Madrid and Oporto had been reoccupied by the French marshals. After Dalrymple, Burrard, and Wellesley had been recalled, to answer for their conduct regarding the Convention of 'intra, and Moore had marched away into Spain, Lisbon was still held by a small British garrison, commanded by Lieut.-General Sir John Cradock. The Portuguese capital was at this time in a most frightful state of anarchy; and, in consequence of the reports transmitted home by Mr. Villiers (the British accredited Minister to the Regency), and by the Lieutenant-General, measures were actually in progress for the abandonment of Portugal by the British. It happened that M. Souza was at this period the Portuguese Minister in London, and had earnestly recommended that some endeavours should be made by England to organise the Portuguese levies, so that they might be brought to stand against the French troops. This suggestion reaching the ears of one fated to make himself a name of no ordinary celebrity in his generation, Colonel Sir Robert Wilson, that most chivalrous officer, in order to prevent the cause of Lusitania from becoming altogether hopeless, threw himself into the vortex, and, under the advice of Souza, and through the influence of the Bishop of Oporto, raised, organised, and clothed some 1,500 men, whom he styled the Lusitanian Legion, of which he took the command, and marched up the country to Almeida, and the boldness of this independent movement rendered a really useful and efficient assistance to the war. The Portuguese Regency roused itself under the incitement of Villiers, and made serious efforts to kindle the national spirit, and organise the means of defence upon a solid foundation.

The interruption of peace between Austria and France at this juncture aided the change in the resolution of the British Government, and, instead of abandoning Portugal, arrangements were made to place the entire Portuguese army under the supervision and command of a British general, who should possess full authority to alter and improve its discipline, and to name its officers. An application was at this time addressed to Sir Arthur Wellesley for his opinion on the matter, and an offer was, in consequence, made to intrust him with this office. To the first he replied by an exceedingly

well-drawn up "Memorandum on the Defence of Portugal," dated London, March 7, and inserted in the "Wellington Despatches;" and to the second, by a recommendation that the duty of remodeling the Portuguese army should be conferred on General Beresford, whose talents and activity especially qualified him for such a task. This officer, in consequence, landed in the month of March at Lisbon, bringing with him several British officers, with whose assistance he forthwith organised and equipped a national force, which became as much distinguished for bravery in action as for discipline and steadiness in the future campaigns. Beresford was immediately invested by the Portuguese Regency with full powers, and received the rank of Marshal of their armies.

As soon as the Coruña army had reached England, the regiments composing it were again expedited to the Tagus as fast as they could be rendered efficient, so that Cradock's force gradually increased to 14,000 men, while the Portuguese troops collected by Beresford between the capital and the Mondego already amounted to an army numbering as many more. Magazines were established at Coimbra and Abrantes, and preparations forthwith made to take the field. A division of British troops, under Major-General Sherbrooke, had, at the same time, proceeded to Cadiz, to offer its services to the Supreme Junta of Seville; but the old pride and jealousy of Castilians could not yet be induced to succumb to the necessity of accepting foreign aid, and the troops, therefore, returned to the Tagus, disembarked, and joined Cradock's army, which, about the middle of March, moved from the capital to Lumiar and Sacarem.

A militia, organised by Colonel Trant and other British officers, was an auxiliary of no little value in a mountainous country, and the ordenanzas, or levies *en masse*, were also ordered to be called out and enrolled throughout the kingdom. Under these circumstances, Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had already been marked out by the public voice as the most fitting man to be intrusted with the chief command of the army, arrived in Lisbon on the 22nd of April, and was immediately nominated, by the Regency of Portugal, Marshal-General of their armies, so as to vest in him the supreme command of the whole kingdom. He immediately infused new life into every department, military and civil, and gave courage and assurance to the direction of affairs. The first consideration was the plan of defence, which Sir Arthur had already announced as the foundation of the new policy, and the condition of interference by Great Britain in the affairs of the Peninsula. He determined that Lisbon should be his base of operations, where reinforcements could continuously be safely landed, and his general dépôt be formed. Having ascertained that Soult at Oporto, and Victor in Estremadura, were too far apart to admit of their co-operation, he considered that, from the central position of the British army, he had it in his power to advance rapidly against the one or the other. Victor was the more formidable, but Soult was only about 75 leagues off while to attack Victor he would have the Tagus to cross, which was an obstacle not very expeditiously

to be overcome ; and, therefore, contrary to Cuesta's advice, he resolved to strike a blow in the north, intending, as soon as he had cleared the kingdom of Soult's army, to return and act with that of Cuesta against Victor. He immediately communicated this determination to the Spanish General, and requested him, to enable him to carry out his plan, by keeping Victor in check. A division of British infantry and cavalry, under Generals Mackenzie and Fane, together with a Portuguese corps, were placed in support of the Spanish general near Abrantes, and the Lusitanian Legion was called down to Alcantara, to defend the entire right bank of the river, and to guard against the possibility of any French detachment forcing a passage across the Tagus during the movement of the British army to Oporto.

On the 1st of May, Wellesley moved his head-quarters to Pombal and Coimbra, and, between the 2nd and 5th of May, he collected his army upon the Mondego, where he found himself at the head of 13,000 English, 9,000 Portuguese, and 3,000 Hanoverians. On the evening of the 4th, intelligence arrived that the Portuguese General, Sylveira, had been beaten at Amaranthe. This place is situated on the river Tamega, on the high road from Oporto to Chaves and Bragança. Sylveira had possessed himself of the bridge there, which completely intercepted Soult's communication with Spain. The French Marshal accordingly despatched Laborde and Loison with 6,000 men against him. Sylveira, assisted by the brave Colonel Patrick, made a noble stand in the town ; but the latter gallant officer received a mortal wound ; and the French, under the Engineer Brochard, employing a new system of mines in the attack, eventually forced the bridge at Amaranthe, and compelled the Portuguese to leave the town. This news induced the Commander-in-Chief to modify some of his arrangements ; but, on the 6th, Beresford moved off to the right, to make a rapid push by Vizeu upon Lamego, and on the 7th, Hill advanced with another column to the left upon Aveiro, while Wellesley himself with the rest of the army marched by the direct road on Vouga. Beresford, crossing the Douro, advanced boldly upon Loison in Amaranthe, who abandoned the bridge there without firing a shot ; and on the 10th, Sylveira came back by way of the left bank of the Tamega and joined the Marshal. General Hill embarked his division at Aveiro in boats, to cross the Lake Ovar, and in his onward march came suddenly upon a French cavalry advance, under Franceschi, at Erigo, on the 10th. The French General, thinking these troops had landed from the ocean, fell back upon Mermet's division ; and Soult, expecting an attack from the shipping at the mouth of the Douro, directed all his attention to that quarter, and, in order to check any land attack, hastened to withdraw all the craft on the water to his own bank of the river, at the same time that he destroyed the pontoon bridge which he had established at Oporto. The two armies arrived face to face on the 12th, and Soult found himself already threatened front and right by Hill, and rear and left by Beresford.

The French Marshal kept close watch over what he deemed his ~~slip~~-footed adversaries, thinking a deep, wide, and swift river pro-

tection enough against a land attack. Wellesley boldly resolved to take the "bull by the horns," and to cross the Douro, though he had no pontoon train. Accordingly, he sent active officers up stream to reconnoitre the banks for craft of some kind, and the intelligent Colonel Waters found among the rushes a boat filled with mud, which he compelled a man to float and row across the river. Here he discovered on the enemy's bank four large barges unguarded, which he succeeded in bringing away without attracting attention. In the meanwhile, 18 guns had been placed in battery on the convent rock called Serra, to cover the passage, if it should be attempted. At 10 o'clock, one boat was reported ready. "Let the men cross," was the laconic order; and 25 soldiers with an officer got over unperceived, and immediately possessed themselves of a detached building on the Vallonga road, called the Seminary. A second boat effected the passage with similar celerity and success; but when the third, with Paget's division, followed, and before all could get across, the attention of the French was aroused; nevertheless, the several divisions all reached the Seminary, when a stout contest arose, in which Paget was seriously wounded in the arm. The guns on the Serra hill, however, flanked this building, and obliged the enemy to confine his attack to the face the farthest removed from its fire, which Hill defended with obstinacy. Brigadier John Murray, with the German infantry and a portion of the 14th Dragoons, had been sent up stream to get across the river at the ferry of Avintas, while the brigade of Guards, under General Sherbrooke, crossed boldly from the suburb of Villanova as soon as boats could be obtained and sent down to them. General Foy, as soon as he learned that the British were actually across the Douro, rushed with the 17th Light Infantry to the encounter, and was shortly followed by the division Mermet; but it was found a more difficult task than the French had lately experienced to drive British troops out of a post of which three regiments had obtained full possession; and, as soon as it was seen that Murray, on one side, and Sherbrooke, on the other, were marching to the assistance of Hill's division in the Seminary, the whole French column retired in the utmost confusion towards Amaranthe. Sherbrooke's column, in its advance, had the good fortune to take in flank a brigade of guns, just as they were going to open upon the Seminary, and poured in such a fire of musketry that the artillerymen ran away, leaving them on the road. Brigadier Charles Stewart, placing himself at the head of the cavalry, scoured the lanes to open the way for Murray; and, in doing this, was caught between stone walls, when Harvey, of the 14th Light Dragoons, lost his arm; and Tomkinson, of the 16th, received such a volley as to disable both of his, but, being a good horseman, he stuck to his seat, while his horse, dashing into the ranks of the infantry, received a bayonet wound in the buttock, which induced him to turn round; and thus the gallant subaltern recovered his liberty, and lived for many years to enjoy the chase in Cheshire, where his fox-hunting exploits are still remembered.

Marshal Soult had determined to withdraw from Oporto, previously

to this attack. He had found himself isolated there, with a few thousand men, without the means of keeping open his communications, much less to open a junction with Ney or Vietor, of whose whereabouts he was profoundly ignorant. He could not, therefore, hope to maintain himself in the midst of an insurgent population; and therefore, as soon as he heard that he should also have to make head against a British army, he decamped in such a hurry as to leave many guns and all his sick and wounded behind him. On reaching Balthar, however, he became sensible of a very mutinous spirit in his army, which had already even made itself known to the enemy. His troops now evinced their displeasure to such a degree that, upon the revelations of General Lefebvre, he ordered a Colonel Argenton to be arrested; but General Laborde refused to execute the Marshal's orders, and Argenton contrived to escape, but he became, in after years, a regular spy. was arrested in his work of treason, was tried and shot, as he richly deserved. Loison was thought to be implicated in this plot against the Marshal, and could not certainly have done him a *plus mauvais tour* than that of yielding up Amaranthe to Beresford without a struggle, which fact came like a thunderbolt upon Soult soon after he entered Balthar on the 13th, for Loison had communicated nothing to his commanding officer but his own departure for Guimaraens. The Duke of Dalmatia found himself, by the occupation of Amaranthe, in a great strait, for on the only way of retreat now open to him, stood the Sierra de Sta Cathalina, across which there was nothing but a sheep-path. It was absolutely necessary for him, nevertheless, to reach Guimaraens by Braga, Montalegre, or Orense; and, unless he could hope to force Beresford, who was in possession of the bridge of Amaranthe, he had no alternative but to take to the mountains, or lay down his arms. He, therefore, chose his course like a man of courage. He destroyed all his artillery and baggage, and took to the mountains, by which means he reached Guimaraens the same evening and joined Loison. Fearing now that Wellesley might anticipate him on the road to Braga, which he knew was in possession of the patriots, he ordered all the guns and baggage remaining with Loison to be destroyed, and again took to the mountains, in order to reach Carvalhao d'Este, where he drew up his army on the field of Lanlosa, on which he had defeated the Portuguese army, under Baron Eben.

On learning that Soult was destroying his artillery and stores, of which he did not become fully apprised until the 15th, Sir Arthur pushed Murray with a small force forward to Penafiel, but he had given orders to his army to march in two divisions by the roads leading to Barcellos and Braga. He seems to have heard nothing up to this time of Beresford's success at Amaranthe, and appears to have concluded, with much common sense and some simplicity, "that, if an army will disembarrass itself of cannon, equipments, and baggage, it must be able to march by roads through which it cannot be followed by an army which has not made the same sacrifices." This may be all very true, and it would not do to be too hard upon a young conqueror, who was enjoying his first ovation

from the mad enthusiasm of the people of Oporto, liberated from French thraldom : but it may be questioned whether his great adversary would have been so lenient under the circumstances to the antagonist whom he had got so completely upon the hip, as Wellesley had Soult at this moment; certainly he would not have marched away one division of his army to Barcellos, when the enemy were retiring on Amaranthe, near which place Beresford must either have been successful as he was, or might have been overwhelmed by the retreating army, when he would have required assistance. Soult evinced wonderful sagacity and resolution in the sacrifice he made, and the direction which he took to get out of his embarrassment; and it is regarded by a good judge to have been "a happy reach of generalship." His situation was still highly precarious, for he heard that a division of the English was marching on Braga, and he therefore determined to endeavour to reach this place before them, directing Loison to lead the van, while he himself took charge of the rear guard. The rain came down in torrents, the mountain streams were scarcely passable, but Soult was a man of most energetic resolution, and he traversed Braga 12 hours before the British got there. Two lines of retreat were now left open to him, when he found himself cut off from Tuy; the one by Ruivaens, the other by Montalegre. The former was already in the hands of Sylveira, who had regained possession of Chaves, and Beresford was at Villa del Rey; the other, though, in fact, shorter, was a very rugged road, which crossed the torrent of the Cavado by the Ponte Novo, and he heard that the inhabitants were at work to destroy it. In this extremity, he called a daring officer, Major Dulong, and frankly telling him the hazardous enterprise which he had selected him out of his whole army to undertake, he sent him in the night, with 100 chosen men, to drive away the peasants from their work of destruction, and open the passage. A storm raged furiously; and, under cover of its violence, Dulong reached the bridge unperceived, and found that a slight strip of masonry was all that remained of the structure. Crawling across the timber which the workmen had left, he entered a hut, into which they had crept for protection from the storm, and put them all to the sword. So narrow and hazardous was the passage, that one of his soldiers following him fell into the torrent below, but its noise drowned his cries and prevented all alarm. The bridge was promptly secured, repaired, and crossed on the 15th. But soon a new obstacle occurred in crossing the Misarella, near Villa de Ponte. Here the stream is passed over by a bridge so narrow that two horsemen cannot go abreast; it is called Saltador or the leaper, and the peasants were here also in the act of destroying the arch. Dulong twice tried to carry it, but in vain, and he was wounded in the attempt; but the soldiers carried him in their arms at their head, and he succeeded on the third time; and Salamonde was safely reached on the 16th.

Sir Arthur Wellesley quitted Braga that very day, and overtook Soult the same evening at Salamonde. Sherbrooke was instantly sent forward, while other detachments threatened the flanks of the

enemy, on whom the guns opened, as they threaded the defile, with grape, canister, shrapnell, and round shot. To add to the evil of a retreat, a panic seized the column, and the confusion was frightful. The next morning's dawn renewed the pursuit: every turn of the road revealed how severely the French army were pressed; the unfortunate stragglers were butchered by the infuriated peasantry burning for vengeance, and the bridges rendered nearly impassable from the dead men and horses which lay upon them. It was late on the 17th before Soult reached Montalegre, leaving 500 prisoners to the pursuers, and at length he attained Orense with 19,000 soldiers yet remaining to him. Here the pursuit terminated, and the Duke of Dalmatia was permitted to enter Spain in peace, with the loss of 6,000 men and the whole of his artillery, baggage, and military chest. His army was ruined in discipline and discontented, for it had been forced to disgorge the plunder of Oporto, which many, at the risk of their lives, refused to restore to the infuriated patriots. Soult's reputation is not thought to have been compromised by this disastrous retreat, which was, after all, that of a stout and able soldier; but his Emperor, in his first paroxysm of his anger, declared his determination to bring him to trial. It was a fair pendant to the retreat on Coruña, but that was but a poor sop for French vanity. The Marshal thought himself obliged, on the 19th, to march forward to Lugo, which Ney had just quitted, leaving a small garrison there, and General Fournier was surrounded somewhere by bands of patriots, and was only just relieved in time. The two Marshals now united their forces, numbering 30,000 men, and cantoned in Galicia for upwards of a month, awaiting the further orders of Napoleon.

Marshal Ney had also had his reverses. On the 27th of March a Spanish force under Pablo Murillo, assisted by a British frigate under Captain M'Kinlay, recovered possession of Vigo and took its garrison of about 300 men. Romagna, on the 28th, surprised and captured two battalions, who occupied the Duke of Alva's palace at Villa Franca, near Riego, and made them prisoners. Alarmed by the activity of the Marquis, Ney concerted measures with Kellerman to surprise him; but, in order to stir up the Asturian Junta, Romagna had gone to Oviedo, leaving the command of his army to General Mahy, who, apprised in time of the enemy's approach, retired into Galicia. The Marquis de la Romagna himself was nearly surprised at Oviedo, on the 13th of May. He had only just time to gallop off to Gijon, where he found a British ship, which took him on board and carried him to Ribadeo, where he disembarked and joined his army again in the Valley of the Syl. Both Soult and Ney had after their junction continual employment. The Spanish governor of Vigo apprised Captain M'Kinley that the enemy had assembled in great force to compel the Conde Noronha to retire from Pentevedra. The Captain accordingly despatched the Portuguese schooner "Curiosa," the Spanish schooner "Tigre," and some gun-boats under Captain Wynter of the British sloop "*Cadamus*," while he himself ran up the Ria de Vigo to Redondela,

where Noronha and Carrera had assembled 10,000 men and 9 field pieces. Here, on the 6th of June, a French force of 8,000 men attacked them, but the fire of the gun-boats prevented all attempts to cross the river, and the Spaniards stood firm. Taking advantage of Ney's absence, the insurgents of Galicia occupied again Santiago and Lugo. About this period, the misunderstanding which had ever since Coruña been smouldering between these two distinguished Marshals broke out into an open rupture. This was not diminished when in the last days of June a despatch arrived from the Emperor, dated from Schönbrun, decreeing the junction of the corps of Ney and Mortier into one army, to be placed under the command of the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia. Accordingly, the two *corps-d'armée* were concentrated; that of Soult withdrawing to Zamora, on the Douro, and that of Ney evacuating all the North, and marching to Astorga, on Soult's right.

The short campaign of the Douro was highly honourable to the military talents of Sir Arthur Wellesley. In 28 days he had recovered the second city of the kingdom of Portugal, and revenged the insult and the crimes of the invader by driving him ignominiously across the border, in a worse condition by far than had been that of the British army of Sir John Moore. The first care of the successful general was to "appeal to the generosity and honour of the Portuguese nation" to spare the sick and wounded of the enemy who had been left behind at Oporto, and for their protection he appointed Colonel Trant governor, commanding him to enforce the most rigid order upon all, citizens as well as on the soldiery. Sir Arthur now heard that General Lapisse had forced the bridge over the Tagus at Aleontara, and he therefore at once commenced his march through Traz-oz-Montes back to the south, but on reaching Abrantes, he put his army into quarters, for the long march and other circumstances had sadly disorganised his men, and the provost-marshals had been called into too active occupation. It was found that Marshal Victor had advanced his outposts as far as Castello Blanco, but, on hearing of Soult's misfortunes and Wellesley's approach, he fell back on Almaraz and Torremocha.

In Catalonia, St. Cyr defeated the army under Don Juan de Castro, on the 16th of February. On the 26th Reding was attacked at Valos by Sonham, and driven into Tarragona, where the Swiss General died of the wounds received in that encounter. He was succeeded by Blake, who, in May, cut off a French detachment of 1,000 men, who were endeavouring to regain the fortress of Morzon; and on the 28th he got possession of that city, repulsing a French force under Suchet. Having united the armies of Arragon and Valencia, Blake made an attempt to recover Zaragoza in the first days of June, but signally failed; and having on the 18th given battle to Suchet on the heights of Ste. Maria, above Belchite, his army was defeated and utterly dissipated.

**10. NAVAL WAR—THE FRENCH ADMIRAL WILLAUMEZ SAILS OUT OF BREST TO ROCHEFORT.**

Although Napoleon had been unable to keep the sea against the British fleets, he never for a moment gave up the hope that with his immense power he could in time equip fleets which might be as successful as his armies had been, and in the end overwhelm his most formidable rival on her own element, and destroy her commercial wealth and greatness. Accordingly, not only at Toulon, but at Rochefort and Antwerp, the most active industry was known to prevail in their ship yards and arsenals this year. At Brest a fleet was always awaiting the opportunity of going to sea, either to seek adventures, or, at all events, to practise the crews; and, with one or other or both of these views, Rear-Admiral Willaumez weighed anchor on the 21st of February with the following ships: "L'Océan," 120, Captain Rolland, bearing his flag; "La Foudroyant," 80, Captain Henri, bearing the flag of Rear Admiral Gourdon; "La Varsovie," 80, Captain Bergeret; "Le Tourville," 74, Captain Lacaille; "Le Jean Bart," 74, Captain Lebozee; "Le Tonnerre," 74, Captain de la Roncière; "L'Aquilon," 74, Captain Maingon; "Le Regulus," 74, Captain Lucas; "L'Indienne," 40, Captain Proteau; and "L'Elbe," 40, Captain Bellenger. It has since transpired that the orders given to Admiral Willaumez were to unblock the port of Lorient, and there to unite with his fleet the squadron of Commodore Troude, thence to proceed to anchor in the roads of Isle d'Aix, where he was to await further instructions. On the 23rd, the British ships "Revenge," 74, Hon. Captain Paget; "Theseus," 74, Captain John Beresford; "Triumph," 74, Captain Masterman Hardy; "Valiant," 74, Captain Kerr; "Cæsar," 80, Captain Richardson; "Defiance," 74, Captain Henry Hotham; "Donegal," 74, Captain Peter Heywood; with the frigates "Amethyst," 36, Captain Michael Seymour; "Naiad," 38, Captain Dundas; and "Emerald," 36, Captain Frederick Maitland, were in the wake of the French fleet, and saw them in the act of entering Basque Roads on the 24th. Shortly after Willaumez and his British followers had passed Isle Groix, the three French frigates "La Créole," 40, Commodore Jurien; "La Concorde," 40, Captain Jacob; and "La Révanche," 40, Captain Cocault, stood to sea, but did not know that they were cut off by the British squadron from the fleet of Admiral Willaumez till they made the Tour de Baleine at daylight on the 24th. Commodore Jurien immediately signalled his squadron to steer for the Saône les d'Olonne, which he reached safely, and anchored in that dangerous roadstead under the guns of some powerful batteries. The "Defiance," "Cæsar," and "Donegal," dared the dangerous shore in pursuit, but the former, as drawing the least water, was the only one which approached within reach of fire, when a cannonade ensued on both sides, which lasted for about an hour and a half, in which Commodore Jurien was wounded.

Admiral Stopford, however, coming up in command, signalled Captain Hotham to withdraw. The three frigates, on seeing this, redoubled their fire on the 74, and flattered themselves they had done some serious mischief, which had occasioned her to lower her flag, so that the French crews exclaimed, "Le vaisseau est rendu! le vaisseau vient d'amener." But no such thing, the "Defiance" got clear; but with the falling tide the three frigates ran on shore, still, however, keeping their flags flying; but, having taken the ground near high water, they could not get off, and all three were accordingly wrecked after five days' fruitless exertions.

#### 11. THE FRENCH FLEET ATTACKED BY FIRE SHIPS IN BASQUE ROADS.

Admiral Willaumez on arriving in Basque Roads added to his fleet "Le Cassard," 74, Captain Faure; "Le Jemappes," 74, Captain Faiveau; "Le Patriote," 74, Captain Mahy; "Le Calcutta," 74, Captain Lafou; "Le Pallas," 40, Captain Le Bigot; and "L'Hortense," 40, Captain Halget; but the "Jean Bart," 74, had grounded and become a wreck near Isle Madaque, so that only nine line-of-battle ships remained here strictly blockaded by Admiral Stopford till the 3rd of March, when Admiral Lord Gambier arrived and assumed the command of the British fleet, consisting of 13 sail of the line, besides frigates and smaller vessels. On reconnoitring the enemy's position, the Admiral saw and reported to the Admiralty "that the French fleet lay very much exposed to the operation of fire ships," which, in direct opposition to the opinion of French writers, though a hazardous and horrible mode of warfare, is as admissible as bombardments, or mines, or any other means of destruction in war. The British Government had, however, anticipated Lord Gambier's request, and having consulted with Lord Cochrane, who was supposed to know the Rochefort harbour better than any other officer, had suggested a plan for "an attack of fire ships, bombs, and rockets, covered by the squadron." The gallant Lord was accordingly sent out forthwith in the "Impérieuse," with twelve transports fitted up as fire ships; and the great fire master himself, M. Congreve, accompanied the expedition to direct the bomb vessels, which were fitted up with a supply of rockets of his new invention, and men well skilled in the management of them were placed under his orders. The fire vessels and explosion vessels were externally alike, but the latter were fitted for this service in a new and singular manner; they were filled with every kind of injurious projectile, and were to be each manned by a few volunteers, who were to lead them into action, and lay them as close as practicable to the enemy's ships. Another novelty in this projected attack by fire ships and explosion ships was the number employed; the use of as many as five or six such fearful machines against wooden ships had been known to nautical experience, but a fleet of 30 flaming antagonists was new, and calculated to inspire terror from their uncertain approach, and, like all gigantic operations, had in their very appearance something

awful. All these vessels were assembled in Basque Roads on the 10th of April. Meantime, a change in the command of the French fleet had taken place, and Willaumez had been succeeded by Vice-Admiral Allemand. A new disposition had been in consequence given to the fleet, which was now anchored with two cables in a double-indent line bearing NNE. and SSW., and abutting at the southern extremity near the battery of the Isle d'Aix. A boom half-a-mile in length, composed of cables and secured by anchors, was thrown across the channel leading from Basque to Aix Roads. 50 guns of great calibre, placed in batteries, protected the anchorage; near the Isle d'Oleron were also mortar batteries of great power. Admiral Allemand well knew the nature of the attack contemplated, and prepared 70 or 80 armed launches and boats for the purpose of boarding or towing off the fire ships on their approach.

On the 11th, in the afternoon, the "Impérieuse" ran down to within a gunshot-and-a-half of the boom and anchored, as did all the vessels in the stations assigned to them. The 11 line-of-battle ships lay at a distance of 8 or 10 miles, also unmoored, to be ready to co-operate when necessary. The wind blew fresh, but as favourably as possible, and the tide flowed at an easy current right into the harbour. The night was uncommonly dark. Lord Cochrane ran his own ship as near as he deemed expedient, and then went with a lieutenant and his gig's crew on board one of the explosion vessels, which he had undertaken to conduct himself. It contained 1,500 barrels of gunpowder jammed together with wedges, on the top of which lay 300 or 400 live shells, and as many thousands of hand-grenades. The largest and strongest of the fire ships was called the "Mediator," and it was commanded by a dashing young fellow, Captain Wooldridge. At half-past 9 the "Lyra," the first of these floating devils, exploded against the boom, and filled the air with every species of firework. In a quarter-of-an-hour afterwards, Captain Wooldridge ran his ship on the boom at a right angle, and by its great weight and the aid of the wind and tide in its favour, broke through the formidable barrier, and thus afforded a clear passage to the remainder of the fire ships to follow. The gallant young Captain nearly perished in the explosion that followed, and got badly scorched, but many of the Captains, fearing this result, ignited their ships too soon, and they had not, accordingly, all the effect expected from them. The sky soon became illuminated by the glare of many vast fires; and with the flashes of guns from the forts and ships, the flight of shells and of Congreve rockets rushing with their flaming tails through the air, formed a scene awful, hellish, and sublime. Singularly enough, nevertheless, the noise did not reach the British fleet in the offing. The French frigate "La Hortense," under the first impulse, made sail towards the fire ships, and passing to windward of some of them, discharged her broadsides into them; but she did not dare to remain long in the open, and retreated behind the French fleet. "Le Regulus," 74, and the flag ship "L'Océan," had 3 fire ships floated against them. So long as they were ordinary fire ships there were many means of evading them,

but it was impossible to discriminate between those that only burnt and those which exploded, and this occasioned such terror, when a fleet of flaming bodies approached, that every French ship of war, except "Le Foudroyant," slipped its cable and went adrift. When day broke, 7 French men-of-war lay on shore, and in the morning light the fire ships were seen also on shore burning to the water's edge. "L'Océan" was very deep in the water, having on board a quantity of stores, and lay in the mud off the Aix road; "La Varsovie" and "L'Aquilon" were upon the rocks of Charenton; "Le Regulus" and "La Jemappes" on the Palles shoal; "Le Tonnerre" near the rock of Pontra; "Le Calcutta" was burning close to the wreck of "Le Jean Bart;" "Le Patriote" and "Le Tourville" lay off Isle Madame; and the four frigates were all of them ashore at the entrance of the Charente. The Captains of the several men-of-war, in obedience to signal, all drowned their powder, so that none of them exploded. It does not appear that the fire ships burned any of them, but, though they had not caused the actual destruction of a single vessel, yet the entire French fleet were more or less upon the heel, and lying in a very desperate condition, and so unequivocal was the consternation that they might every one of them have been taken possession of by a few boats' crews led on by some daring young midshipmen. After the officers had performed their arduous duty they had a most difficult task to execute to get back to the "Impérieuse," which was the nearest ship placed to receive them; and many, both officers and men, were found to be much injured and exhausted from fatigue, having been four hours in the boats. The falling tide obliged this line-of-battle ship to weigh her anchor at daylight and stand out, when Lord Cochrane signalled to Lord Gambier: "Half your fleet can destroy the enemy, for only 2 ships are afloat; 11 are on shore." Lord Gambier, who had ordered his fleet to prepare and get their anchors up, ran to within 3 miles of the Isle d'Aix, when he suspended the order, and afterwards called a conference of the Captains on board the "Caledonia," when he abandoned the idea of employing the men-of-war to cannonade the grounded ships, but directed by signal the "Ætna" bomb, covered by the gun brigs, to do so. As the tide flowed, all the French ships which had foundered righted themselves, and succeeded in removing into deep water, towards the entrance of the Charente; but "L'Océan," "Le Regulus," "Le Patriote," and "La Jemappes" grounded again in the mud almost as soon as they moved. Lord Cochrane, however, seeing the French ships gradually getting beyond the reach of attack, and that the nearest ships, "Le Calcutta," "L'Aquilon," and "La Varsovie," were laying out their anchors for removal, would not wait for any order or signal from the admiral, but dropped down towards the enemy, and opened fire upon the nearest ship, "Le Calcutta." The "Impérieuse" commenced upon that ship, but occasionally directed shot upon the others; but while thus engaged with these 3 French men-of-war, the gallant Lord, finding that the shots of the "Ætna" and the gun-boats were dropping short and producing no effect, signalled

them to go in nearer, and, finding they would not do so by his order, he, in a manner more decisive than courteous, ordered the maindeck guns of his frigate to be fired at them, when they took the hint, and dropped down to a more effective position. Lord Cochrane had his hands pretty full with all these demands upon the hostile qualities of the frigate, so that it was past 2 o'clock when Lord Gambier ordered the "Indefatigable" to weigh and join him, and soon afterwards the "Valiant" and "Revenge" got under way, and proceeded in the direction of the firing; the "Impérieuse," however, continued her attack on "Le Calcutta," which she forced to surrender. All the ships then turned their attention on "La Varsovie" and "L'Aquilon," but it was nearly half-past 5 before they could be brought to show the customary token of submission. The "Theseus" now came up, but before she could open her guns "Le Tonnerre" was set fire to by her own officers and crew, and exploded about half-past 7. "Le Calcutta" also blew up with a tremendous explosion at half-past 8, owing to the mistake of a midshipman; and "L'Indienne" was burned by the enemy as she lay on her beam-ends on shore. The "Impérieuse" had 3 killed and 9 wounded from the batteries, and 4 killed and about 8 wounded on board the fire ships. On the French side the "Calcutta" is said to have lost 12 wounded, and the "Varsovie" 100 killed and wounded altogether, and the "Aquilon" lost her Captain only, who was killed after he was prisoner on board the "Impérieuse," by a shot from one of the French ships. The British vessels "Impérieuse" and "Indefatigable" were the only vessels out of the 14 engaged that suffered. But it is true that the whole of the fire ships and explosion ships were sacrificed, which afforded M. Thiers the satisfaction that "la rage des Anglais n'avait détruit que des richesses Anglaises."

It is, perhaps, not worth while to raise questions of national prejudices, or to dispute with French writers what may be considered *barbare* in war. Of course all violence is unchristian, and to be denounced by statesmen and patriotic historians such as M. Thiers; but it must be admitted that the expedient which is attended with the least loss of life is the least reprehensible in war, and on this occasion the number of British killed and wounded was few compared with the very great injury inflicted on the enemy.

The employment of fire ships in naval warfare is as old as the Phœnicians and Trojans, the Greeks and Romans, and they have been used in modern times by Venetians and Turks, Russians and Swedes; but it was not alone fire ships which peculiarly distinguished Lord Cochrane's plan of attack in Basque Roads. The construction of large explosion vessels to be taken by boats into the midst of an enemy's fleet, and rendered as effectual against the foe as mines in land operations, was a novel expedient in naval war. The plan of making both fire ships and explosion ships of the same external character, was also an ingenious feature, because calculated to excite a mixture of alarm and hesitation how to act, and to meet the emergency, in ignorance of which was which; so that

the war ships, one and all, ran on shore in their great dread, and scarcely made any attempt to ward off the evil. The daring judgment of Lord Cochrane in himself conducting the first explosion ship to its place, and, when he had secured the safety of his crew, remaining on board in order to light the fusee, and the singular skill with which he placed his boat, so close to the explosion, as to be clear of the falling destruction, and evade the swell occasioned by the displacement of the air, all of which tended much to the ultimate success of the operation, and were in the highest degree meritorious; indeed, had he been seconded by a more energetic Admiral than Lord Gambier, he would, without doubt, have at this time destroyed the whole French fleet in Basque Roads. Perhaps there never was an incident in the whole annals of war, that evinced more genius and bravery combined. Napoleon is reported by O'Meara to have said, "that fear had deprived the French Captains of their senses, for having thrown their powder overboard they could have offered little or no resistance, and that without doubt, had Cochrane been supported, he would have taken every one of the ships."

From the 13th to the 24th, attempts of various kinds were indeed made to capture or destroy the French vessels in the harbour, but without success. The fleet of Admiral Allemand was, however, ruined for any hostile object.

When the news of the exploit reached England, rumours began early to spread about to the prejudice of Lord Gambier. He probably expected as much, for on the 29th of August he quitted the fleet and sailed for England. Lord Cochrane also applied for leave of absence, and was received with immense enthusiasm. His Sovereign bestowed upon him the Order of the Bath, and the Corporations of the kingdom lavished on him the gift of their freedoms. Being a member of the House of Commons at the time, he thought proper to intimate to that assembly that he should oppose any vote of thanks for the conduct of the fleet at the Basque Roads, which included Admiral Lord Gambier. The Admiral accordingly demanded a court-martial, which met in due course, and on the 26th of July acquitted him, pronouncing his conduct on that occasion to have been "marked by zeal, judgment, ability, and an anxious attention to the welfare of His Majesty's service." A vote of thanks to the Admiral of the fleet was then proposed, in the terms of the acquittal, and carried by a large majority. In France the Captains of "Le Tonnerre," "Le Tourville," "L'Indienne," and "Le Calcutta" were placed on their trial for alleged misconduct, and, on the 8th of September, Captain de la Roncière was acquitted, Captain Lacaille sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and Captain Proteau to three months' confinement to his chamber. The unfortunate Captain Lafour was found guilty of having shamefully abandoned "Le Calcutta," and was shot on the 9th.

## 12. CAPTURE OF THE FRENCH COLONIES OF CAYENNE AND MARTINIQUE BY THE BRITISH.

The defeat and blockade of the French fleet in Basque Roads was felt as far off as the Caribbean Sea. It had transpired that Admiral Villaumez had been ordered from Brest to Rochefort, with the intention of proceeding to the West Indies, to defeat the machinations of the British against the French Colonies in the Antilles, and all was on the alert expecting it. The French colony of Cayenne lies between the English colony of British Guiana and the Portuguese dependency of Brazil, and the capture of it from France was therefore deemed of especial moment to the Prince Regent of Portugal, now that he was established in Rio de Janeiro. Accordingly, two Portuguese brigs, "Voador" and "Infante," having 550 land forces on board, under Colonel Manoel Marques, accompanied by the "Confiance," 20, Captain Lucas Yest, took peaceable possession of the mouth of the Oyapok river, in Guyane Française, on the 8th of December. An attempt upon the town of Cayenne, the capital of the colony, was now resolved on, and the expedition arrived on the east of the island on which it stands, on the 6th of January, and landed in a bay half way between Fort Diamant and a battery named Dégras de Cannes. Captain Yest at once proceeded against the former, and Major Perito or Pinto against the latter. Both batteries were taken, and General Victor Huques, the governor, so celebrated for crimes and bravery, hearing that the entrance to the river was in the possession of the enemy, prepared to assemble his troops, and to encounter him. With singular judgment, Captain Yest, as soon as he perceived the disparity of the allied force to that of the French, resolved to dismantle Fort Diamant, and to make his stand under the fort of Grand Cane. Victor Huques had assumed a position near the Canal de Torcy, and fell upon the Portuguese as they approached; but Yest came up to their support, and, after an action of three hours, compelled the French to retreat to Cayenne. The Governor's private house, for the defence of which he had two guns and a garrison of 100 men, remained, however, yet to be taken; and therefore, on the 8th, after an ineffectual summons, the allied force, armed with pike and bayonet, and led by their respective officers, rushed on, and soon carried the house, which they levelled with the ground. Victor Huques upon this retreated into the woods, when he resolved to make a stand at Beauregard, an eminence commanding several roads into the town, but he was anticipated by the allied officers, who took post there on the 9th, and on the following day again summoned him, when 400 French soldiers, 600 militia, and 200 blacks, laid down their arms. An armistice followed, and on the 14th the Portuguese and British marched at once into the capital, and the French settlement was entirely surrendered.

An expedition under the Hon. Sir Alexander Cochrane, consisting of the "Neptune," 98, Captain Dilkes, bearing the Rear-Admiral's

flag; the "Pompée," 74, Captain Brenton, bearing the broad pendant of Commodore George Cockburn; "York," 74, Captain Barton; "Belleisle," 74, Captain Fahie; "Captain," 74, Captain Wood; "Intrepid," 64, Captain Nesham; and "Ulysses," 44, Captain Woolcombe, with 8 frigates, and about a dozen smaller war ships, forming a total of 28 pendants, were assembled in Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, on the 28th of January, when 10,000 men, under Lieutenant-General Beckwith, were put on board the transports, and the fleet sailed for Martinique. Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, the opponent of Lord Howe on the 1st of June, was Governor of the colony, with no greater force to defend his charge than "L'Amphitrite," 40; the ship-corvette, "La Diligente," 18; and "La Carnation," 8; with 2,400 troops, and about an equal amount of militia; but he had 289 guns mounted in batteries round the island. On the 30th a division of 3,000 men, under Major-General Maitland, protected by the fire of the "Belleisle," effected a landing on the leeward side of the island, when the French at once set fire to "La Carnation." Another force of 6,500 men, commanded by Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, landed in the bay of Cul de Sac Robert, under the fire of the "Acasta" frigate, on the windward side. The island being thus attacked on north-east and south-west, the Governor divided his force to meet the enemy, but the militia returned to their homes. The French troops took up a strong position at Morne Bruneau, for the protection of Fort Royal. The reduction of L'Islet aux-Ramiers has always been deemed a prelude to any attempt against the capital town of this colony, and accordingly the fort there was invested on the 31st, and Brigadier Shipley and Captain Cockburn fixed on Morne Vanier for the site of their batteries. The obstructions from the enemy's batteries and from the ruggedness of the rocks created much annoyance and delay to the invaders.

On the 1st February, Sir George Prevost and Brigadier Hoghton, assisted by Colonel Pakenham, attacked the heights of Desfourneaux, and were successful, with the loss of upwards of 400 men killed and wounded, the French division retiring on Fort Dessaix. The York Rangers, commanded by Major Henderson, having seized the battery on Pointe Salomon, the Admiral, with the flag-ship and transports anchored there, which greatly assisted Cockburn and Shipley, who got possession, on the 4th, of the Isle des Ramiers, where the garrison of 136 men surrendered. Cockburn was now directed to secure the anchorage at Pointe des Nègres, when the Vice-Admiral stood in with the squadron for Le Cul de Sac Royal, when the French burned the "L'Amphitrite" and the whole of their shipping in the bay. They likewise destroyed all their guns and magazines, and Villaret, perceiving that he was overpowered, shut himself up with 3,000 men in Fort Dessaix, abandoning Fort République and Fort Edouard. The troops at once entered the deserted forts, and the navy planted their ship guns on a hill called Tarançon, where the "Sailors' battery" was constructed on the 8th: the fort Dessaix was an irregular pentagon

having a lunette in front of it, and connected by a covered way, named *Le Bouillé*, and it was armed with 120 cannon and mortars. The fort was completely invested, and six batteries raised against it, on the 19th. Five additional batteries were at the same time commenced on the side of Morne Sourier, which were nearly finished by the 22nd. Captain Brenton, who was present, made this characteristic remark upon these siege proceedings : " There is something indescribably animating in seeing British seamen in these operations. The novelty of acting on shore, and the hopes of coming into action, give a buoyancy to their spirits which carries them to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. 100 sailors, attached by their canvas belts to a 24-pounder, is one of the most amusing and exhilarating sights. On this occasion, when M. de Villaret was told how the sailors were dragging the cannon up the heights, having become pretty well experienced in British nautical life, exclaimed : ' Ah ! c'en est fait de nous.' "

The garrison kept up their fire with much spirit for a short time, but the British artillery was so well served, that most of the fort guns were quickly dismounted, and soon a great explosion announced that a magazine had been fired by the shells. The defenders were now compelled to take shelter in the casemates, and the Governor accordingly sent out a flag of truce on the 23rd, but the terms demanded being deemed inadmissible, the bombardment recommenced, and was continued till the morning of the 24th, when the Governor again raised a flag and accepted the capitulation. The army had not a single casualty in the siege ; but the navy, who had undertaken the entire duty, lost 6 killed and 19 wounded. The French admitted the loss of 200 men.

After the capture of Martinique, the British land and sea forces steered for Les Saintes, where a squadron of three French ships of the line and two frigates had anchored for refuge. Lieutenant-General Maitland immediately disembarked and took possession of the islands. Sir A. Cochrane, with the fleet, watched the three outlets by which the enemy could escape, but nevertheless, on the 14th of April, they put to sea, and at daylight were seen flying under a crowd of sail, with the "*Pompée*," Captain Fahie, in close pursuit. The chase, in which the "*Latona*" and "*Castor*" joined, was kept up with great spirit till the 16th, when, on the morning of the 17th, "*Le D'Hautpoul*," Captain Armand Le Duc, surrendered. The others escaped for the time, but were afterwards captured.

In San Domingo the French still held the city, the capital of the Spanish portion of the island. Accordingly, Vice-Admiral Rowley and Lieutenant General Carmichael were despatched from Jamaica in the early days of June, with about 1,400 men to drive them out, and on the 28th they landed at Polingur, and sat down before the city. General Barquier immediately proposed an armistice, which was refused, and everything was got in readiness for an assault ; but a capitulation was signed on the 6th of July, when 1,200 French troops laid down their arms as prisoners of war. Thus terminated

the existence of the French power in Hispaniola; and, now that Cuba and the other Spanish settlements in the Antilles were in alliance with Great Britain, she became mistress of every colony and possession in the Caribbean sea, the French flag was absolutely excluded from the West Indies.

### 13. WAR IN GERMANY.

Napoleon left Valladolid on the 17th of January, and riding on horseback as far as Bayonne, entered France on the 9th, and immediately proceeded post to Paris, where he arrived at the Tuilleries like an apparition, in the night of the 22nd. He had received from Vienna, Munich, Dresden and Milan, the most convincing proofs that Austria had determined on war against him. During the winter, measures evidently indicating such an intention had been adopted by the Court of Vienna, such as opening the harbour of Trieste to the English flag, the appearance of articles hostile to the French emperor in the German journals, the knowledge of the existence of secret diplomatic relations with England, and the purchase there of considerable supplies of arms. At the same time, notwithstanding these straws in the wind, the Austrian Cabinet was undecided on the course they might finally adopt, and the prime minister, Count Stadion, was, on the question of war, in opposition to the Archduke Charles, on whom all hopes of success must depend, and who was inclined to peace. The difficulties of finance were readily got over by the offer of subsidies from England, and the difficulties attending the French invasion of Spain seemed to render the opportunity favourable for the Empire to recover its military character and its rank and influence in Europe. These considerations at length overcame the cautious foresight and prudence of the Archduke, and war was resolved upon, after much hesitation.

The preparations made by Austria, in anticipation of the war, were immense: the troops of the line amounted on paper to 271,040 infantry, 29,078 cavalry, and 776 guns, which were to take the field on the Danube, in Italy, in Galicia, and on the confines of Poland. In addition to this, 150,000 men of the landwehr were mobilized. German enthusiasm was roused through the means of the secret society called Tugend-bund; and the nationality of the Tyrol was animated to revenge on Napoleon the transfer of their allegiance from the House of Austria to Bavaria.

A very important change had taken place in the direction of the Austrian army. The Aulic Council had been abolished, and the Archduke Charles was appointed both generalissimo and war minister; in fact, supreme in military affairs. His two principal advisers were General Meyer and General Grunn: for some time these two could not agree as to the plan of the campaign. The original idea was to invade at once Franconia, Lombardy, Warsaw, and the Tyrol, in order to help the numerous ardent spirits and malcontents, on whom the Cabinet of Vienna had reason to calculate for aid in these movements. The disposable force was divided into

nine corps, besides two in reserve. Of these, six comprised the army under the immediate command of the Archduke Charles, which might number 120,000 present with the standards. The 1st under Count Bellegarde, the 2nd under Count Kollowrath, the 3rd under Prince Hohenzollern, the 4th under Prince Rosenberg, the 5th under the Archduke Louis, the 6th under General Hiller; besides which there was the German reserve under Kienmayer, and the Hungarian reserve of Jellalich. Two, numbering 47,000 men, were placed under the direction of the Archduke John, to serve on the side of Italy, the Archduke Ferdinand commanding one corps, numbering 35,400 men, and 100 guns, which was to defend the Galician frontier. Besides these, the landwehr were under arms in Carinthia, Carniola, and Italy, and an organised insurrection of the Tyrol was under the direction of the Marquis Chastellan, who commanded the 8th corps, and the 9th under Giulay. Amongst these independent bodies were divided and distributed 518 pieces of artillery. At length, the plan was resolved upon to pour with the greatest force across the Bavarian frontier, maintaining an army of reserve in Bohemia, while the insurgents from the side of the Tyrol should at the same time assist to overwhelm that new-born monarchy. The corps of Bellegarde and Kollowrath assembled upon the Bohemian frontier early in April, ready to march upon Bayreuth and Ratisbon, while the corps of Hohenzollern, Rosenberg, the Archduke Louis, and Prince Lichtenstein were collected behind the Iser, ready to pour across that river into the kingdom of Bavaria. Kienmayer, with the reserve, was posted behind the Enns. The Archduke John's army was at the same time despatched from the neighbourhood of Tarvis to be ready to pour into Italy, having its left wing in Croatia to face the French army, under Marmont, which still held Dalmatia.

The combinations of Napoleon, which regarded as well the Peninsula as Germany, were made with his usual extraordinary activity. While he was yet in Spain, his untiring mind comprehended the most wonderful details of military organisation, and after his arrival at Paris, his personal energy inspired every department with fresh life and vigour. It was necessary to provide additional troops, and he therefore raised the annual contribution from the population from 80,000 to 100,000 men; but these conscripts required to be rendered fit for the ranks in the shortest period of time. The regiments were each raised to five battalions, and sent off to the army of the Rhine or retained under his own observation at Versailles, in order to expedite their drill. His forethought had already established great *haras*, or dépôts for breeding horses, which could supply considerable numbers of those required for his cavalry, but it was necessary to obtain a stronger class of animals for his artillery, and these he now directed to be purchased in Alsace and elsewhere. The necessity of obtaining a good description of non-commissioned officers, a class so important, as every military man knows, for the efficiency of regimental organisation, occasioned him great anxiety, and called forth all the resources of his genius. He

had recourse to the Lycées or private schools to obtain well-educated military youths of 16 or 17 years of age, and ordered 300 to be provided by that of St. Cyr. Fouché, as Minister of Police, was desired to search out the young men of the families of emigrés who lived retired at their country seats, "pour soustraire aux efforts que faisait la génération présente pour la gloire et le grandeur de la génération future," and he was directed to intimate, on every hesitation at compliance, "que tel est mon bon plaisir." Nor was any consideration deemed too trifling, or omitted by this imperial soldier, for the full equipment of his army. He looked himself to the exertions of his engineers, and commanded that they should see to the proper armament of all the strong places in Italy, and to the completion of the most urgent new works. He even condescended to ordering them to supply additional spades, picks, and shovels for field-works. All these vast measures required great financial outlays: now the Customs duties had been seriously diminished by the decrees of Milan and Berlin, and these could not hope to improve, but, on the contrary, to diminish more and more. He could only, therefore, rely for any increase of means on direct taxation. It was at this time that he ferreted out a blot in the habits of the Receivers-General, whom he called upon to pay into the Treasury the amount of the imposts as soon as they were received, and thus he got immediate possession of funds that had been habitually left in their hands for months. He also appears to have instituted a sort of Exchequer bill arrangement, by which he could still further advance for immediate use the anticipation of the direct taxes. By extraordinary exertions of vigilance, inquiry, and genius, he thus collected, without borrowing of the capitalists, money sufficient to carry his vast army forward into the rich valleys of the Danube, the Po, and the Vistula, where his experience told him he should find ample resources to maintain it.

Thus Napoleon took the field against Austria with nearly 360,000 men and 428 guns. Bernadotte, Davoust, Massena, Lannes, and Oudinot commanded in the grand army, with 132,527 infantry and 33,203 horses. While the Confederation of the Rhine sent contingents to the amount of 100,000 in Germans, 60,000 Italians were under Eugène in Italy, and 34,200 Poles under Poniatowski in Poland. Neither party appeared to precipitate the crisis. Austria still required time to complete her armaments and gather together her forces, while Napoleon had enough to do to concentrate his army, and was desirous not to unsheathe the sword till he could be satisfied as to the probable policy of Russia in this crisis. He had long conversations with M. de Romanzoff, the Ambassador at Paris, and through him appealed to the Czar to co-operate openly with France, by sending an army to act against Galicia; but he was apprised that Prince Schwartzenberg had been despatched by the Emperor Francis to Alexander with adverse propositions, although Caulaincourt, the French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, assured him that they had been rejected. Subsequently, Alexander declared his intention of sending 50,000 men to the support of Poniatowski in Poland; but such a compromise

evinced pretty clearly how little the Czar was disposed to join in the conflict, and Napoleon remarked, "Aussi je compte plus sur moi que sur eux."

The preparations for war and complications of diplomacy occupied the whole of February and March. But Napoleon did not relax his energies for an instant; he despatched Bernadotte to Dresden to take the command of the Saxon army, Davoust to Bamberg to take charge of the Würtemberg contingent; Massena assumed the command of the army on the Rhine, and Oudinot that of the force on the Danube, while Bessières was summoned to bring up the Imperial Guard by post from Burgos, in order to be ready to take the field with the Emperor. Towards the end of the month of March, when events had pretty well matured themselves, M. Daru was expedited to Germany to organise what the French happily term *le matériel* (which has no corresponding expression, I believe, in either English or German), the formation of magazines and hospitals, and under the head of transport to establish telegraphs and a *service d'estafette* between the theatre of war and Paris. Relays of post were also placed ready to convey the Emperor at the shortest notice direct to Augsburg or Würzburg. Marshal Berthier was sent, as Major-General of the army, to the valley of the Danube to be ready for Napoleon's arrival to assume the supreme command, and with directions to concentrate the army immediately behind the Lech on the first symptoms of the enemy's offensive movements.

#### 14. THREE AUSTRIAN ARMIES CROSS THE FRONTIER IN GERMANY, ITALY, AND THE TYROL.

On the 9th of April the Archduke Charles caused an intimation to be made to the General-in-Chief of the French army that, "in consequence of a declaration made by the Emperor Francis to the Emperor Napoleon, the army under his command would commence hostilities." Accordingly, on the morning of the 10th, the armies in Bohemia, Bavaria, and Italy were all set in motion, and 1,000 beacons were kindled over the rugged surface of the Tyrolean Alps. The Emperor of Austria established his quarters at Linz, and sent an aide-de-camp to apprise the King of Bavaria that he had given orders to his army to enter his kingdom; but, as the cause was the cause of Germany, His Imperial Majesty trusted that His Majesty would not be inconvenienced. For all answer, King Maximilian set off the same night to place himself behind the French army. The Archduke, at the head of his army, crossed the Inn at Braunau on the morning of the 10th; the remainder of the troops passed the river at Scharding and Mühlheim, or took the road to Munich by Wasserburg. The division on the extreme right marched straight on Passau, which surrendered at their summons. It was the 15th before the Austrian army were concentrated on the banks of the Iser, without having as yet seen an enemy, except some Bavarian patrols. On the 16th, General Radetzky, commanding the Austrian advanced guard, arrived at Landshut with a view to cross the Iser, and there found the Bavarians,

under General Deroy, apparently placed to dispute the passage. He found the bridge had been destroyed, and he was received with a heavy fire from the woody heights of Altdorf. The Archduke, however, soon cleared the ground, by opening fire from his guns on the suburb called Seligenthal, and ordered the bridge to be restored, by which his troops at once crossed the river. Other portions of the army crossed at Moorburg and Dingolfing. The Bavarian troops, with the loss of 100 men, retired in perfect order into the forest of Durnbach. The Archduke was now approaching the French outposts, but he thought that by marching on Abensberg he should interpose between the *corps-d'armée* at Ratisbon and Augsburg. At the same time, the 1st and 2nd Austrian corps, having crossed the Bohemian frontier at Tischenreit and Rosshaupt, had united at Wernberg, and were therefore threatening Ratisbon from that side. The Archduke accordingly continued his march on the 17th from Landshut on Abensberg, and directed General Hiller to move from Moorburg on Mainburg and that Jellalich should march on Freising. The Archduke Louis, who was farther to the left, was ordered to keep watch upon the Bavarians at Diernbach; and the corps of Hohenzollern was to make a reconnaissance on Ratisbon. Bellegarde, with the other corps out of Bohemia, was to march at the same time through the Upper Palatinate. The object of these movements being to tighten the noose round the isolated corps of Davoust, which was thought to be compromised by his position in that city. The Austrians, as usual, moved slowly, and, in addition to this incurable habit of theirs in every war, the weather was execrable, and the new system of supplies which had been introduced, did not work well, at first, for instead of regularly meeting the wants of the troops, it only retarded their march.

#### 15. THE ARCHDUKE JOHN DESCENDS UPON ITALY— BATTLE OF SACILE.

On the same day that the Archduke Charles crossed the Inn, the Archduke John sent a flag of truce to General Broussier at Ponteba, to announce his intention to advance his army in the same terms as his brother had done; and early in the morning of the 10th, he set his troops in motion to descend the valley of the Fella. He was resisted for a moment at the outpost, but he succeeded in making them prisoners and moved on. Giving a wide berth to the posts of Osopo and La Chiussa, he directed his steps by way of Cividale and Gradisca, and debouched upon Udine, where the head-quarters of the Prince Eugène were established. Surprised by this sudden apparition, and having only two divisions at hand, the Viceroy withdrew them at once across the Tagliamento, to unite his troops with those of Grenier, Barbou, and Grouchy upon the Livenza, where His Highness placed his head-quarters at Sacile on the 14th. The bridges were broken, and the advance was checked by such impediments as were at hand: but, as usual, the Austrians

were slow in their movements, so that they occupied four days in driving back the enemy across the Tagliamento, and it was the 15th, in the morning, before they came up with them near Pordenone, with two battalions of infantry and a regiment of cavalry, under General Sahuc. As soon as the Archduke perceived that the French were disposed to make a stand, the chief of the staff, Nugent, was sent back to hasten up reinforcements, and the French rear-guard was completely surprised and surrounded. An endeavour was also made to push forward by the only road that was thus open to them to Sacile; but a powerful force of French cavalry appeared to encounter them, who made a stout resistance, but in the end were most of them taken prisoners or slain, leaving an eagle and 4 pieces of cannon a prize to the Austrians. The fight, however, was well contested by the French, and lasted five hours. Colonel Breissaud, who was one of the prisoners, was brought before the Archduke John, who remarked that the Colonel had no sword, and said to him: "So brave a man as you have shown yourself should not remain disarmed; I will go and seek your sword on the field of battle, and, if I do not find it there, I will give you mine."

The Viceroy Eugène was as yet but little experienced in war, and, not knowing what he ought to do in this emergency, he assembled his superior officers to ask their advice; but the days of the Empire were not favourable for volunteering opinions, and accordingly, one and all held their peace. The brave young prince, therefore, driven back on his own judgment, resolved to stand and fight, instead of continuing his retreat before the Austrians to the banks of the Piave, where other reinforcements awaited him. He had now with him 36,000 men, but the Archduke had 45,000; nevertheless, he determined to take the offensive. The road from Pordenone passed through the centre of the position he assumed, which was between Vizonuova and Porzia, where was high ground; the right was intersected with stream and water courses, but his left rested on a perfect plain to the feet of the mountains, and was singularly favourable for the operations of cavalry, in which the Archduke John was strong. The 16th happened to be Sunday, and His Imperial Highness was gone to mass, when he was recalled hastily to the field, by the news that the French divisions were in march to attack the Austrian left, while other troops were debouching on the right flank across the plain. The attack indeed had been so sharp that both the villages of Palsi and Porzia were carried before the Archduke arrived, but he instantly sent forward General Colloredo, who, after a frightful carnage, retook them. The Viceroy, however, sent up the division Barbon to the assistance of the divisions Seras and Severoli, who again recovered them; but the intersected ground rendered the contest extremely stubborn, and during its continuance both the divisions Grenier on the high road, and Broussier on the plain, remained totally inactive. The Archduke therefore ordered an advance on Fontana Fredda, and the action

became continuous along the whole line. The Austrian cavalry came down in great force to the plain, on which Broussier formed his infantry in squares, and received the enemy gallantly. In this way the fight lasted several hours, but numbers at length prevailed, and the Austrians in the rear got possession of the principal bridge over the Livenza, which completely cut off the retreat of the French left wing, upon which the Viceroy ordered a retreat upon Sacile. In retiring, notwithstanding all the exertions of General Broussier, the left of the French fell into disorder in crossing the defile occasioned by the marshes as they approached the river, which was fearfully augmented when it transpired that 7,000 Austrians were already in possession of the town. Accordingly, horse, foot, and cannon got mingled together in frightful disorder; and all fled without attempt at resistance, and apparently without any fixed direction. 4,000 killed, 4,000 prisoners, and 15 pieces of cannon were the trophies of the day, which was a severe blot on the Viceroy's military reputation. His right wing alone was enabled to pass the stream by the bridge of Bruguera without disorder, the centre retiring by the high road; but night saved them from a total overthrow, and they continued their retreat till morning, the weather and the state of the many streams on their march augmenting the disorder. They were at length able to place the Piave between them and their pursuers, and there the Viceroy found the reinforcements he expected, but still fell back to the Adige, which he attained on the 22nd, and took possession of the celebrated position at Caldiero. A good anecdote is told of a Lieutenant Pellegrin in the battle of Sacile. His leg had been carried off by a cannon ball, and some voltigeurs came up to him on the field to carry him off, when he exclaimed: "Laissez moi, mes amis, dans cette place, et retournez à vos rangs, où votre présence est bien plus nécessaire: il ne faut que le régiment perd sept hommes au lieu qu'un seul. Si l'ennemi est généreux, il prendra soin de moi." Old campaigners know in what numbers skulkers are ever found ready to perform offices of charity which are not required, and will appreciate the veteran's recommendation.

#### 16. THE TYROL BREAKS INTO INSURRECTION UNDER ANDREAS HOFER.

Coincident with the advance of the Archdukes Charles and John, the Marquis Chastelan gave the signal for revolt to the Tyrolese. The signal agreed upon was simple enough: sawdust was cast upon the waters, which floating down, on the stream, announced to the peasants that the time was come on which the emancipation of their country depended; but, besides this and other such signals, the beacon fires blazed on every hill side and summit, on the eventful night of the 8th. The inhabitants were roused into immediate activity by a proclamation of the Archduke John, and were seen in the morning on every side descending the glens of the mountains with their rifles on their

shoulders. General Chastelan advanced on the 9th from Klagenfurthern upon Lientz down the Pustenthal, and encountered the Bavarian General de Wrede at Brixen, when the Tyrolese, with loud shouts and an energetic charge, fell upon the enemy. A simultaneous enthusiasm now arose through the entire Tyrol against the Bavarian troops, of whom 2,000 or 3,000 men reached with difficulty the formidable pass of the famous bridge of Loditch, over the Brenner river. Here the force divided, and while one division was pursued towards Kerzing, General Lemoine and a great portion of the other descended Bolzavo, where they were made prisoners by Chastelan and the insurgent peasantry of Landsturm, who rallied around him.

The peace of Presburg, by which the Tyrol had passed from Austria to Bavaria, had broken a tie which had subsisted for many centuries. In addition to old attachments the Tyrolese had many grievous causes of complaints against their new masters, and they now resolved, impelled by the most sacred of motives, to rise with one consent against the intruders. One Andreas Hofer, a name which has since earned a rightful immortality, had obtained by his talents and acquirements a leading influence in these mountains. He was an innkeeper, like his ancestors before him for generations, residing on his paternal estate; a man of well-known probity and disinterestedness, and of such surpassing strength and stature as to be as much valued for his prowess as he was esteemed for his character. He was a man of an ardent religious bias, and strongly attached to the Romish faith, as well as to the cause of the House of Austria. There were also other leaders, under whose guidance the Tyrolese now embarked in the contest with France and Bavaria. On the same day that the French General Lemoine was taken prisoner, a division of Bavarians came across Hofer with the landsturm at the Sterzeiger Moos. The troops advanced in good order and with an intrepid air, but rifles opened upon them from every rock and thicket, and after a struggle of only a few minutes' duration (during which they lost 240 killed and wounded), the remainder, numbering 390, laid down their arms. On the morning of the 11th, 1,500 Bavarians, under General Kinkel, with a few guns, were attacked near Innspruch by 20,000 mountaineers under Teimér, and driven into the town, whence they were expelled, after a frightful *mélée*, in which the General and Colonel Dietfruth were killed, and the whole battalion and guns taken. On the 12th the Bavarians descending the Brenner were encountered near the Sterzing, when General Bisson laid down his arms and General Wrede was taken prisoner with nearly 3,000 men. The strong post of Hall in the lower Innthal yielded to the enterprise and skill of Speckbacher, when 400 Bavarians surrendered.

Thus did the Tyrolese, in one week after the insurrection broke out, deliver the entire province out of the hands of the Bavarians, and the Marquis de Chastellan, finding nothing left for him to do in the mountains, descended into the plains of Italy with his mountaineers to co-operate with the Archduke John. Near Trento he came upon a French division commanded by General Baraguay,

d'Hilliers, who fell back before him to Roveredo, where he united his force with that of the Viceroy, who was reorganising his army near Verona.

#### 17. NAPOLEON ASSUMES THE COMMAND OF THE FRENCH ARMY ON THE DANUBE.

Napoleon had so disposed his couriers and his telegraphs that he heard at Paris on the 12th of the passage of the Inn by the Archduke on the 10th, and, as every arrangement was already made in anticipation, he started for the army within a few hours of receiving the intelligence, taking the road through Strasburg to have an interview with the King of Würtemberg at Stuttgart, and the King of Bavaria at Dillingen, and on the 17th, already he established his head-quarters at Donauwörth. He no sooner learned from Berthier the state of affairs than he flew into a most violent rage with his Major-General:—"Mais ce que vous avez fait là me paraît si étrange que si vous n'étiez pas mon ami, je croirais que vous me trahissiez." The two divisions of the French army were, at the time of the Emperor's arrival, 35 leagues apart; Massena at Augsburg behind the Lech, and Davoust in advance isolated at Ratisbon; but there had not yet been a shot fired, and accordingly the great fault of the Prince of Neufchâtel was this, upon the advance of the Austrian army he had not called in Davoust's corps. On the contrary, he had ordered that Marshal, who had prudently begun to retire of his own accord from Ratisbon upon Ingoldstadt, to march back by the left bank of the Danube, and had directed Lefebvre, with the Bavarian division, to advance on Landshut to his support. Thanks to Austrian sluggishness, no advantage was taken of this fault, regarding which Napoleon remarked: "Voilà que Davoust se trouve en ce moment plus à la disposition de L'Archiduc Charles qu'à la mienne." In this critical state of affairs the Emperor forthwith despatched Savary to endeavour by any means to get into communication with Davoust at Ratisbon, while he himself advanced his head-quarters on the 18th to Ingoldstadt, for he expected every moment that the Archduke would throw his whole force between the two separate corps of the French army. Savary found the Austrian posts were in front of Abensberg and directly in his way, but the Prince Royal of Bavaria meeting him, threw out 50 cavalry as skirmishers, under cover of which, and with the assistance of a good guide, Savary passed on. Davoust, however, seeing the danger of his position at Ratisbon, had of his own accord quitted it, leaving a regiment to guard the bridge over the Danube, which being an old stone work of the Romans, was found indestructible. Savary therefore proceeded in search of the Marshal, and found him with his outposts on the early morning of the 19th, engaged with those of Hohenzollern, between Thann and Langwart, while his *corps-d'armée* was in his rear defiling along the banks of the Danube between Abbach and Port Saal. Of course he forthwith communicated the Emperor's orders to the Marshal, and then hastened back with all the information he had obtained. Napoleon,

wrapped in his cloak and resting himself on a hard bench, was anxiously awaiting his return; and, as soon as he received his report, mounted his horse and rode to Abensberg, where he found the Prince Royal of Bavaria in the midst of his troops. He now learned that Davoust's advanced divisions, Gudin and Morand, had passed the defile of Abbach, and that the country, singularly intersected with woods and broken elevations, afforded great facilities for defence and for the concealment of the amount of force which might occupy it. He, therefore, rallied on this ground about 40,000 Bavarians and Würtembergers, including a division of French cuirassiers, with whom he determined to bring the enemy to action on the banks of the Abens, for the Archduke had collected his force in and about Rohr. Napoleon welcomed at this moment the arrival on the field again of his old friend and favourite Lannes, and ordered that a new corps should be immediately formed to be placed under that Marshal's orders.

#### 18. BATTLE OF ABENSBURG.—CAPTURE OF LANDSHUT.

Napoleon was now at ease for the safety of Davoust's corps, but, reflecting on the position he was in, he resolved to bring him back towards Abensberg, and to send up Massena from Pfaffenhausen to Landshut, thus by this double march concentrating 140,000 or 150,000 men in front of the Archduke, with which strength he felt convinced he could crush him. He therefore ordered Davoust to keep the Archduke fully occupied on the side of Offenstetten, while Lannes should move by the road to Rohr and Adelshausen, threatening the left and forcing his way between the separated Austrian corps of Hiller and Hohenzollern; and he concluded his despatch to Massena in these words, "Activité, activité, vitesse, je me recommande à vous." He then put himself, without guard or personal staff, at the head of the Bavarian and Würtemberg contingents, and marched against the Austrians under Thierry, who were at Kirchdorf; at the same moment, Davoust and Lannes also set themselves in motion to fulfil the Emperor's orders. It so happened that the Archduke was marching from his camp near Rohr on the high road to Ratisbon, thinking to entrap Marshal Davoust and his *corps-d'armée* there; while his left column under Hohenzollern was marching on Hausen and Tengen, and his right on Saalhaupt, a brigade under the Archduke Louis also was advancing by the great road through Echinühl. It was 9 in the morning, however, before the columns perceived each other, when the division Gudin suddenly came *aux prises* with some Austrian tirailleurs near Schneidart. Each army thought they had taken the village, whereas the troops of both had only passed through it in their respective opposing directions; Thierry however on his side gave way upon the Emperor's advance, and fell back to Rohr, where he was taken prisoner with three battalions. Louis fell back before the Bavarians commanded by Wrede, and did not stop till he reached Lulmendorff. Wrede's attack was so successful that his opponent was obliged to send to

Prince Reus, who, with General Brinch, was gallantly defending himself at Kirchdorf, to fall back and join him; and, accordingly, at the end of the day Pfaffenhausen was occupied by the troops of Hiller and the Archduke Louis, while Hohenzollern held his ground at Leindorf; but Lannes was pursuing his course on the high road to Landshut, having only some fugitives under Vincent between him and that city. Marshal Davoust had strictly obeyed the Emperor's orders, and occupied the Archduke's attention all the day, and had indeed, passed imperceptibly between him and the river, so that at night-fall the ground right and left of Tengen in front of Abensberg was in possession of the French troops. The Archduke most unaccountably remained all day at Saalhaupt, awaiting the junction of his left wing under Louis, and did not know till the evening that he was cut off entirely from that portion of his army; but, hearing that the French had been seen moving towards the Iser, he took up his position between the two rivers called Grosse and Kleine Laber, at Eckmühl, having his back on Ratisbon and facing the road leading thence on Landshut. Napoleon, awaiting the consequences of Lannes's forward movement towards Landshut, established his head-quarters for the night at Rottenburg, delighted with the events of the day, in which he had been so well served by the troops of Bavaria and Würtemberg.

General Hiller, who, by right of seniority, held the Archduke Louis's command, now seeing himself cut off from the Generalissimo, and knowing the importance of saving the great dépôt of the army at Landshut, resolved to retire in the course of the night of the 20th-21st, by the great road leading from Neustadt on that town. Napoleon, ever on the alert, and scarcely lying down to rest, was on horseback at daylight, and came up early with Lannes's corps of 25,000 men on the road to Landshut, in hot pursuit of Hiller and Louis, while Wrede, with the Bavarians and Würtembergers, were pushing their way to the same point from Pfaffenhausen; and he hoped and trusted that Massena was also moving his corps of 30,000 by some road or other to unite with him at the same place as he had directed. As the Emperor advanced, a scene of indescribable confusion opened before him. The two Austrian divisions of Hiller met near Altdorf, and, to add to the entanglement, the great pontoon train, sufficient for the passage of one of the broadest rivers, became clogged with their cavalry, artillery, and infantry: Bessières, therefore, seeing the disorder, dashed forward with the cuirassiers of Saint Sulpice and the chasseurs of Jacquinet into the midst of them, where he was, however, encountered by the Austrian cavalry, who resisted him with great bravery. In the meantime the Austrian infantry hastened through the town to cross the Iser, while the grenadiers of Aspre held the suburb of Seligenthal, to keep back the French from crossing by the bridge. The extensive marshy ground about the suburb, on both roads, was covered with guns, tumbrils, and baggage; and, to increase the tumult, Napoleon established two batteries on the heights commanding this bottom, which plunged their fire into the midst of the mass, and

made confusion worse confounded. Hiller placed the 5th and 6th corps into position outside of the town, to cover the retreat of his troops, and then set fire to the bridge, when General Mouton, one of the Emperor's aides-de-camp, placed himself at the head of the 17th, and animating them by voice and gesture, carried them in the teeth of a storm of projectiles, along the flaming structure. Just at this moment the head of the column of Massena appeared on the river side, which the Austrians had gained: marching up from Morsburg, the cavalry led by Marulaz, and the infantry by Clarapède. Hiller immediately sent forward General Nordmann, with both cavalry and infantry, to check them, while the Archduke Louis held stoutly the castle of Trausnitz, which commanded the town; but it was all in vain—with no chance of being reinforced, the Austrians were obliged to give way before the immense accumulation which the arrival of Massena had brought against them, and they retreated on Geissenhausen, followed closely by Clarapède. Their loss was 6,000 men, and 36 guns; but the gain to the French in guns, pontoons, and immense magazines, was even more than a victory, at the comparatively trifling loss of 1,800 men. Nor was it the least triumph of these operations that while Napoleon effected the junction of his divided army, he separated the armies of the Archdukes Charles and Louis for the rest of the campaign.

#### 19. BATTLE OF ECKMÜHL OR EGGMÜHL—ENTRY INTO RATISBON.

All this time, however, Napoleon was not without his anxieties about Davoust. His forethought had induced him to send back the divisions of Morand and Gudin, as soon as he had sent off Lefebvre with the Bavarians in pursuit of the Archduke Louis; but Kollowrath still defended himself between Schierling and the wood of Hohewald. In the night of the 21st-22nd, however, this general received the Archduke Charles's order to march on Abach, while Prince John of Lichtenstein was moved on Peising. The Austrian army, in front of Napoleon, now formed a line, resting its right on the Danube, and its left on the Gross Laber, where Charles hoped to rally the divisions of Hiller and Louis. Rosenberg and Hohenzollern, forming the left, held high ground near Eglofsheim, where the high road crosses from Landshut to Ratisbon. This town was occupied by a single French regiment, but as it now formed the only road of retreat for the Austrian army, Charles ordered Kollowrath and Lichtenstein to advance across the stone bridge.

Colonel Coutard commanded the regiment at the bridge of Ratisbon and defended himself valiantly, until he had exhausted all his ammunition, and was forced to surrender. The Archduke might, now that Ratisbon was in his power, have brought Bellegarde's army over the Danube to join him, and have assumed the offensive against Davoust; but he did nothing, and remained on the defensive all the time that Napoleon was thundering at Landshut. Davoust, not quite understanding the Austrian repose in his

front, thought the best way to prevent his adversary from working mischief against himself was by attacking him, and he therefore made the utmost demonstrations of his forces that a country full of thickets and briars gave him the means of doing, and at nightfall of the 21st he was still in front of Eckmühl. He then sent General Piré to the Emperor to receive further instructions. This staff officer found the Emperor, after the fatigues of the day, hard at work in writing despatches, of which it is remarked there are an unusual number extant, dated from Landshut on this day. He immediately gave orders that General Saint Sulpice, with the cuirassiers, and the division of Würtembergers, under General Vandamme, who were bivouacked nearest the road, should march at 2 in the morning to reinforce Davoust, and Piré was sent back to the Marshal with the assurance that he would himself in a short time follow. The result of the reflections which crossed the Emperor's mind at this moment convinced him that the whole of the Archduke's strength was in position between Eckmühl and Ratisbon, and he therefore sent successive orders to Lannes and Massena to be prepared to march back before daybreak, while he subsequently despatched an aide-de-camp to carry the more detailed information as regarded the forces which might be expected to arrive on the field between 1 and 2 o'clock, and he directed signals to be made, so that, as soon as salvos of artillery were heard, he might immediately attack. He instructed, at the same time, Bessières to follow Hiller beyond the Iser, but, lest he should turn and recover his strength, he placed the divisions Boudet and Tharreau *en échelon* between Neustadt and Landshut, to be available to meet a contingency on either hand, for his guards, who were on march from Spain, might be expected to arrive at Landshut from day to day. He then lay down for a short repose, and at daybreak on the 22nd departed at a gallop, with Massena, Savary, and all their staff, on the road to Eckmühl.

After the engagement between the Archduke and Davoust, on the 21st, the Austrian division of Rosenberg occupied the two villages called Ober and Unter Leuchling, on the heights immediately in front of Eckmühl; Hohenzollern's corps was on the great road which crossed them leading to Ratisbon; Wukassovitch, with about 6,000 men, was in the valley of the Great Laber, more to their left; and the castle of Eckmühl was occupied: but the Archduke's plan was to make an attack with the weight of his forces from the side of Abach, upon the French left. The divisions St. Hilaire, Friant, and Demont, in and about Schierling, with the Bavarian cavalry of Deroy, a little to the right, immediately advanced and deployed; but nothing beyond a violent cannonade ensued. The Archduke, in utter ignorance of Napoleon's advance on Landshut, and of General Hiller's flight, imagined that he could act upon the rear of the left of the French army; but as for this manœuvre he required the assistance of Kollowrath's division, out of Ratisbon, the necessity of forming these columns of attack delayed the orders for the onset till about midday. However, he had scarcely got the

troops in motion when he received from General Wukassovitch the information that heavy columns were advancing towards him, on the road from Landshut.

Upon the nearer approach of the columns which had been thus seen, Rosenberg and Wukassovitch massed their forces, posting their artillery so as to sweep all the approaches; and accordingly, as soon as the head of Lannes' corps showed itself out of Buckhausen, it was received with such a storm of grape as induced it to swerve to the left, towards Schierling; and Gudin's division, which followed, moved off from the same cause, to its right towards Deckenback and Zaitkoven. Some troops nevertheless advanced, notwithstanding the heavy fire, and carried the little village of Lintach, while the whole force, being reformed, crossed the Laber to attack Eckmühl and Roeking. The divisions of St. Hilaire and Friant then rushed up the heights, at the villages of Ober and Unter Leuchling, when they were received with a deadly fire of musketry from the regiments of Bellegarde and Reuss-Greitz, notwithstanding which they got possession of both villages, though they were most skilfully barricaded and well defended. In like manner, the regiments of Chastelor, Coburg, and Archduke Louis, which occupied the adjoining woods, were driven out from them at the point of the bayonet. An Austrian battery of 16 guns, which swept the plain of the Laber, still delayed the French attack on the bridge at Eckmühl, and counteracted for a long time the headlong assaults of the Würtembergers against it; but a French battery was opened on the side of Schierling which silenced the Austrian fire, although attempts at seizing the battery by the Bavarian cavalry were successfully resisted. The Archduke Charles now sent to Rosenberg to discontinue the unequal combat, and to retire; and, as soon as he saw that he had new opponents on his right, he also withdrew his divisions from Abach, and sent them to the assistance of the 2nd corps, by way of Peising, while the 1st and 3rd corps marched up to Thalmassing. Davoust's divisions came upon the flank of this march to Thalmassing, but Hohenzollern launched his cavalry against the enemy, and effectually checked his advance. Napoleon now ordered a decisive attack; but the fight was so stubbornly maintained at Eckmühl that he desired General Saint Sulpice to carry forward a large force of Bavarian, Würtemberg, and French cavalry to seize the Austrian battery. Combined with this movement, the Würtemberg infantry, under Vandamme, and the division St. Hilaire carried the castle of Eckmühl with the bayonet, and Lannes crossing the Laber at Standelsmühle, drove back the rear-guard through the defile of Holberg. General Rosenberg on this ordered a retreat on Eglofsheim. In front and to the left of this village the Archduke had massed 12 squadrons of cuirassiers and 26 squadrons of light horse, who poured down, under the command of Prince Lichtenstein, upon the French advance, with unexampled fury. This put an end to the conflict, for, under cover of this charge, Charles made a change of front parallel to the highway, a disposition admirably calculated to preserve his army in their retreat—a great

object, to which his attention was now alone directed. The battle had indeed lasted three hours, and it was nightfall. The Archduke therefore encamped on the hills immediately in front of Ratisbon; and Napoleon gave orders to his army to halt and bivouac on the Austrian position. The French took a great number of prisoners, 16 guns, and 15 standards: the actual killed and wounded on each side was nearly the same, about 6,000. The corps of Massena could not get up to the field of battle to take part in it, but the Marshal himself came up to the Emperor at Eglosheim, though his divisions were still far to the rear. When Bellegarde's army, on the other side of the Danube, was taken into account, the Archduke was still at the head of 80,000 men. It is strange that he should have left them so long out of the account, but he at length saw the wisdom of concentrating them. He therefore threw a bridge over the Danube, on the night of the 22nd-23rd, by which the corps of Hohenzollern and Rosenberg passed over as soon as it was completed, the mass of the cavalry crossing by the stone bridge of Ratisbon. Kollowrath coming in from Abach, and not having been engaged in the battle of the 20th-21st, was left in the city to cover the Austrian retreat. The French cavalry came down upon the rear-guard at break of day, on the 22nd, to try whether there would be any resistance, which they soon found to their cost; for the Austrian cavalry drove them back before them with such vigour that Lannes thought it necessary to order up his guns to check them. The Archduke brought down Bellegarde's army to the confluence of the Regen to insure the respect of the enemy for the retreating army; and the Stadtam-Hoff was strongly occupied by them, and the hills behind it crowned with artillery. The divisions Friant, St. Hilaire, Morand, and Gudin came down to the town wall; but General Telsen barred all the gates, and so well posted his six regiments on the old defences of the city, that he kept the French in awe until Massena brought up his corps and encamped them at Fraesling, on the heights commanding Ratisbon. Napoleon ordered batteries to be formed to play upon the bridge and on the streets of the town, and while he was thus occupied and in conversation with Duroc, raising his glass to spy around him, he was struck by a spent ball upon the great toe. On the Emperor remarking, "Jesuis touché," a host of surgeons threw themselves before his horse, and drew off the boot, but the skin was found unbroken. The notion, however, that the Emperor was wounded excited the enthusiasm of the soldiers, who received the conqueror with a delirium of delight as he passed their ranks. It was past midday, and all were impatient to get into Ratisbon, when Lannes brought his guns to bear upon a portion of the enceinte, and by the destruction of a few houses made a sort of breach; but there were still obstacles unremoved, and when the grenadiers attempted to enter, they were driven back by the balls and bayonets of their foes. On this Marshal Lannes, covered with orders and decorations, got down from his horse, and seizing a ladder, exclaimed, " Vous allez voir que votre maréchal, tout maréchal qu'il est, n'a pas cessé d'être grenadier." In an instant he leaped through the gap into the town.

and was followed by his aides-de-camp, Labédoyère and Marbot, into the city, and through the streets, till they reached the Staubig gate, which they opened to their friends. The Austrians retreated to the stone bridge, which the Duc de Montebello would fain have forced, but, at sight of the Austrian army on the other side of the river, he thought it more prudent to hold back. The Archduke withdrew the pontoon bridges which he had thrown over the Danube and the Regen, and prepared to carry off his army to Bohemia. It was by this way, on the same evening, that the Emperor Francis came up as far as Schärding to share in the triumphs of his army, and to endeavour to win the German contingents to his side; but alas! it was only to receive the sad news that his army was separated into two parts, and that the road was again open to the conqueror to advance upon Vienna.

Napoleon passed the 24th at Ratisbon, and issued this order of the day to his soldiers, to whom he also distributed praise and decorations to a considerable extent:—“En peu de jours nous avons triomphé dans les trois batailles de Thann, d'Abensberg et d'Eckmühl, dans les combats de Leising, de Landshut et de Ratisbon. Cent pièces de canon, quarante drapeaux, 50,000 prisonniers, trois équipages de pont, 3,000 voitures attelées portant les bagages, & toutes les caisses des régiments ; voilà les résultats de la rapidité de vos marches et de votre courage.”

Alison makes the following just remarks on this campaign: “It was by indefatigable activity and the nicest calculation of time that these astonishing results had been obtained; and never has Napoleon displayed in a more striking manner the untiring energy of his character. Unwearied by a journey night and day for six consecutive revolutions of time, he no sooner arrived at the army than he occupied himself to obtain a full knowledge of the situation of affairs. His calculation of time was so exact, and the habits of precise obedience on the part of his generals so complete, that the perusal of his letters to his lieutenants, still extant, are a complete history. His troops marched and combated with little repose, but the Emperor never spared himself the fatigue that he imposed upon his soldiers. On the contrary, none of them underwent anything like the mental and bodily labour to which their Emperor subjected himself. From the early morning of the 19th, when he repaired to Abensberg on receipt of the intelligence from Davoust, till the night of the 23rd, when he slept in a bed at Ratisbon for the first time since he quitted Paris, he was on horseback at least eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, and was ever dictating letters through the night, taking needful rest only by snatches on chairs, or forms, or on the ground. By the rapidity of his journey from Paris, he had outstripped all his saddle horses and knocked up the stud of his friend the King of Bavaria.” His movements during this period are declared by himself to have been the greatest manœuvres he ever executed. “Those for which I give myself the greatest credit were performed at Eckmühl, & were infinitely superior to those at Marengo, or any other.”

actions."\* On the other hand, the Archduke Charles evinced none of the daring energy, activity, and vigilance, which had distinguished his early campaigns. He appears to have already fallen back to the normal condition of an Austrian tactician, in formal inertness and procrastination in all military movements. Immediately after he had taken the bold resolve to cross the Inn, he became paralysed. He crept feebly forward, as if afraid to strike the first blow, when by an energetic spring he might have leapt upon his opponents, scattered through the plains from Augsburg to Ratisbon. With the force at his command he might have crushed both Massena and Davoust, so that the Emperor could not have had an army fit for an advance for weeks; and when this great antagonist arrived, the Archduke permitted him to do his work upon Hiller and Louis apparently without enquiring what had become of them; for on the 21st he was idle, or, if doing anything, he was preparing an operose bit of strategy in a remote nook of country in which there was scarcely a battalion or a squadron to oppose him. Yet the movement that Napoleon made was of no deeper art than to make a dash at the enemy's magazines by a raid to the rear—an extremely hazardous attempt in war, which the most ordinary vigilance could have prevented, and the slightest activity of his enemy have severely punished.

#### 20. NAPOLEON MARCHES ON VIENNA—BLOODY FIGHT AT EBENSENBERG.

The Archduke, when he crossed the Danube to unite himself to the corps of Bellegarde, appeared perfectly indifferent to the fact that he left the road to Vienna unbarred to Napoleon, except by such troops as might be collected by Hiller, which, including the reserves of Stiemmayer and Jellalich, could not at most number above 50,000 men; for he fell back to Cham in order to cover the defiles into Bohemia by way of Fürth and Roetz, which lead to Pilsen. Napoleon had now, therefore, to choose between pursuing the Archduke through the mountains of the Böhmerwald, abounding with most advantageous positions, or of driving Hiller across the Inn upon Lintz, and marching straight to Vienna. The Archduke moved his army to Cham, followed by Davoust as far as Vittenau, and, unaccountably enough under the circumstances, he rested at Cham till the 28th, when it was of the first importance for him to hasten forward, that he might seize the important post of Lintz, through which the high road passes to the capital. Certainly it was a very round-about march by Pilsen and Budweis, while Napoleon had before him the shorter road by Passau; but, nevertheless, an army of 80,000 men upon the French left flank was enough to have influenced even the stout heart of the experienced conqueror against the occupation of Vienna under such circumstances.

*Marshal Bessières had been left at Landshut during the operations*

before Ratisbon, but now that the resolution of marching on the capital had been adopted, this corps was to be moved forward. On the 24th the advance of this Marshal's column, consisting of the light cavalry of Marulaz and the Bavarians under General Wrede, were attacked at Neumarkt, amidst the low grounds of the river Roth, by Hiller's army, in three columns. With his accustomed forethought of everything, Napoleon had judged that Bessières, who had already advanced as far as Villa Biburg, would not be strong enough to contend with Hiller, and had, therefore, ordered the division Molitor to follow him. Both Marulaz and Wrede were indeed driven back in the ardour of the conflict which now ensued, but Molitor coming up to their aid, re-established affairs, and Bessières was enabled to maintain the bridge over the Roth at Neumarkt. In the nights of the 24th and 25th, however, General Hiller became informed of the extent of the evil which had befallen the Archduke Charles before Echmühl, so, renouncing all further hostilities, he marched off across the Inn and the Traun, where he hoped to receive some instructions from his Commander-in-Chief. In the meantime, Massena with the divisions Boudet, Legrand, Carra-St.-Cyr, and Oudinot, marched on the 23rd to Staubing, having orders to secure the passages across the Danube at Passau and Lintz, and Bessières moved to the right in order to turn all the confluentsof the great river; while Davoust was left at Ratisbon to follow on one side or other of the Danube hereafter, as might be found desirable, and was to be followed by Bernadotte.

So changed in every respect was the Archduke Charles from what he had been ever before, that his despondency at this unfortunate opening of the campaign induced him to propose to his brother the Emperor to make pacific overtures to Napoleon. Francis, however, saw the weakness of such a temporising policy, but did not absolutely decline his brother's proposal, who accordingly, of his own accord, wrote at this period to the conqueror to congratulate him upon his arrival at the command of his army, which he paid him the compliment of saying was visible in the immediate results; but, with a view to lessen the evils of war, he proposed an exchange of prisoners. Napoleon was sufficiently versed in the world to guess the motive which could have suggested the Archduke's letter at this early period of the campaign, but kept His Imperial Highness in unpleasant uncertainty by making him no reply.

The French Emperor quitted Ratisbon on the 26th, and crossing the Inn at Mühldorf, placed his head-quarters on the 28th at Burghausen, on the Salza, where he remained two days to re-establish the bridge there, which had been burned. He now sent Lefebvre with the Bavarians into the Tyrol to turn the tide of affairs against the mountaineers. The Marshal forthwith attacked them at Lauffer on the 28th, and scattered the division of Jellalich, who fled, sacrificing their magazines at Salzburg. Marshal Massena met with no obstacle at Passau, and the whole army passed the Inn between that and Braunau, and advanced upon the Traun. This position was one

of the most important upon the road to Vienna, and Napoleon determined to force all opposition to his army by carrying it by Lintz, Mauthausen, and Ebensberg. He was aware that the great strength of this ground is at Ebensberg, where the river is crossed by a long wooden bridge. The army arrived opposite this position on the 3rd of May. Massena was ordered to seize Lintz, which is in advance of the river, and to push on vigorously to Mauthausen, where there is also a bridge across the Danube, as well as one over the Traun. Marshal Bessières on his right was to be ready to support him, and Lannes, marching on Wels, was to be at hand to turn towards Ebensberg, if any very considerable resistance should be met with there. As Massena advanced, he drove before him the rear-guard of the corps of Hiller, and he could see across the Danube the march of the Archduke's army coming down to Lintz. He accordingly pushed forward with his utmost activity, and at daybreak of the 3rd fell upon that town, which the division of Klenau and Stuttenheim had just entered. Indeed, these divisions had only just time to save themselves and destroy the bridge. Clearly, then, had not the Archduke dallied at Cham, he might yet have barred the approach of Napoleon to the capital. Massena, as soon as he saw himself in possession of Lintz, and that it was only 10 in the day, marched forward to Ebensberg, General Marulaz leading the column with the light cavalry. The two corps of the Archduke Louis and General Hiller had marched in the same direction, and occupied an advantageous position behind the Traun, across which they held the bridge at Ebensberg — a highly important position, because, as the bridge of Lintz over the Danube had been destroyed by the Austrians, it completely protected that of Mauthausen, which was two leagues behind, and was the true strategic point, as it secured the means to the Archduke Charles of reassembling his army for the protection of Vienna. Massena was not aware that Napoleon had fixed his head-quarters that night at Lambach, upon the Traun, with the express object of turning this position : but he well knew its importance, and was not deterred by its formidable nature from immediately assailing it. The narrow bridge, crossing over many islets, extended 200 toises in length ; and on the plateau commanding it stood the little town with its castle. A force of nearly 40,000 men, with 80 guns, placed on such a position, were enough to check even the stout heart of Massena. The French advance, however, came upon the Austrian rear-guard as it was moving through the village of Klein München ; and the Marshal, impatient to obtain possession of this important passage, immediately ordered forward the division Coehorn of the corps of Oudinot, who, regardless of the danger, dashed through the village with reckless bravery, broke down the barriers, and made their way good, contending with the enemy the whole length of the bridge. The French entered the town of Ebensberg in the face of three Austrian battalions, who were imprudently left for its defence without any support, and, encouraged by their success, attempted, but ineffectually, to carry its castle.

Clarapède, however, followed with 7,000 men in support of Coehorn, and Massena called up the divisions Legrand, Carra-St.-Cyr, and Boudet in haste, and placed batteries upon the most advantageous points to keep down the fire of the castle, which plunged its fire mercilessly into the little town; and now a frightful cannonade commenced on both sides, for General Hiller resolved to make a stubborn stand in this position. He first endeavoured to overwhelm Coehorn's advance, which he succeeded in stopping, when he re-entered the town of Ebensberg, driving the divisions Lesuire and Ficatier to take shelter in the houses. The artillery in the meantime set fire to the place, and the most dreadful carnage ensued among the assailants, both from the missiles and the flames. At this opportune moment General Legrand came up at the head of his division, and was literally obliged to order his soldiers to clear away the corpses of the fallen, and to throw them into the river, to enable him to move forward. Some one coming up to the General endeavoured to give him advice on the state of affairs. "Je n'ai pas besoin des conseils," said he, "mais de place pour ma division." He was at length enabled to release Clarapède's surviving men from their little prison, and, having cleared the town, boldly attacked the castle, under a fearful fire, and succeeded in forcing the gates. Lannes had been sent forward by the Emperor from Lambach the same morning to march upon Steyer, and the great mass of French cavalry, under General Durousel, having crossed at Wels, were now seen swarming across the plain. The Austrian commander, therefore, finding his left flank thus turned, ordered a retreat. Napoleon, hearing the noisy cannonade, immediately rode up to Massena in the midst of the fight, and was somewhat displeased at the attempt he had made to take the bull by the horns with an unnecessary waste of blood, seeing that he had already made his dispositions for turning the position of the Traun without any such necessity; but Massena proved him his just apprehensions from the troops of the Archduke on the side of the Danube, and that the principle of Hiller's defence showed that he could not have been driven off by a mere demonstration. The Emperor, therefore, was satisfied, and complimented him upon his bravery and the success of his measures. He would not, however, establish his head-quarters in a town where every imaginable stench and horror invaded the senses, but bivouacked outside in the midst of his guard. The loss on both sides, in this bloody affair, is placed at 5,000 men killed, burned, or wounded on the part of the French, and 7,000 on that of the Austrians. About 4,000 Austrians were made prisoners, many of whom were with guns and colours.

The Archduke all this time was marching leisurely through Bohemia, and had his head-quarters at Budweis when his lieutenant was gallantly endeavouring to stay the advance of Napoleon. The only hostile disposition he evidenced was the continued destruction of all the bridges over the Danube by his right wing. One point yet remained by which he could unite with Hiller to stop the march of the French army on the capital: this

was at Krems, whither the Archduke Louis and Hiller now directed their steps, by Enns, Amstetten, and St. Polten, destroying the bridges over all the torrents descending from the Noric Alps on their march. The destruction of these bridges very much hindered the movements of the French, and it was accordingly the 7th before Napoleon established his head-quarters at the great Abbey of Mölk, upon the Danube, within a day's march of Krems. Still nothing stirred the Archduke Charles, who continued his abode at Budweis. At last, he set himself in motion and reached Zwettel, and there was even yet time for him to cross the Danube and occupy the Kahlenberg, a strong buttress of the Alps covering Vienna. But here also he allowed the French to take possession of the strong position of St. Polten, and therefore it was too late for him to cross the Danube, but still he might have ordered Hiller to get hold of the defile of Siegartskirchen, and here, at least, check for a time the French advance. Nevertheless, the only directions that issued from the Commander-in-Chief were an order to Kollowrath to effect a junction with the Archduke John and Jellalich, who were coming up with their divisions from the side of Italy, and the recall of Hiller's army to his own side of the Danube.

Napoleon accordingly took his own measures without any further opposition. He ordered the mass of his cavalry to advance by the lowlands on the side of the Danube, to watch the enemy on both banks; and that General Bruyère with a division of light troops, both infantry and cavalry, should flank the march on the right, and observe the passes of the Styrian mountains, keeping an eye upon the troops advancing out of Italy. Marshal Lannes opened the march on the 9th, followed by the corps of Marshal Massena and Marshal Davoust in succession, that the Emperor might be ready to oppose any attempts at recovering the means of communication across the Danube in his rear. Ever mindful and provident, Napoleon, at the Abbey of Mölk, ordered the most effectual measures to be adopted for bringing up, by the streams of the Danube, supplies of every kind, as well for the rank and file as for the transport of the sick and fatigued among his soldiers. He also established pontoon bridges at Lintz and Krems, so that if requisite he might, from his side, pass the Danube, to the disquiet or annoyance of the enemy, should it enter into his future plans to make a movement into Bohemia. On the 9th Oudinot took possession of Sieghartskirchen, and Napoleon, surrounded by his guard, proceeding with the advance, arrived at the very suburb of Maria Hilf. The young Archduke Maximilian was placed in command of the armed posse-comitatus of Vienna, which, with the landwehr and a few regulars, constituted a garrison of 11,000 or 12,000 men; but nothing could less merit the name of garrison, if it were considered in the light of a protection for the capital. A summons, sent in on the 10th, was insulted and ill-treated by the commonalty; but a Captain Roidot, marching forward, daringly *escaladed* the iron gate of the *enceinte*, sword in hand, and *opened* a way for Colbert's cavalry to enter the city at a gallop, followed by a division of the infantry under General Tharreau, who

was wounded in attempting to cross the esplanade. Napoleon, seeing that there might yet be some resistance, appointed General Andreossy governor of Vienna, and issued an assuring proclamation to the inhabitants dated from the palace of Schönbrunn, where he now established his head-quarters. It was one month exactly, to a day, since the Austrian army had passed the Inn to invade Bavaria.

A deputation from the city now came to implore the clemency of Napoleon, who referred them to the Archduke Maximilian; for, notwithstanding the exertions of Andreossy, the "old town" seemed resolved to hold out, and to animate the defence the inhabitants were reminded of the famous siege of Vienna by the Turks, and of the more recent defences of Zaragoza by the Spaniards. Napoleon therefore mounted his horse on the morning of the 11th, and reconnoitred the military defences of the city from the outside. He observed that by attacking from the side of the famous promenade of the Prater he could cut off the garrison from the side of the Danube and the bridge of Thabor, and oblige the Archduke to capitulate. He immediately ordered the construction of a battery of 20 howitzers to play upon the Landstrass, and at nightfall a heavy fire of shell was opened on the city, which set fire to it in several places. The besiegers sent out two battalions to spike the battery, but in vain, and accordingly the Archduke, leaving General O'Reilly to make the best terms he could for the inhabitants, quitted the city on the morning of the 12th, and destroyed the bridge of Thabor, by which he crossed the Danube to unite himself at Arnspitz with the troops of General Hiller.

The French army took possession of Vienna on the 13th, and the divisions St. Hilaire, Davoust, Oudinot, Boudet, Carra-St.-Cyr, Molitor, Le Grand, with the guard, and the Marshals Massena, Lannes, and Bessières took up their quarters in the city. Marshal Davoust was sent back to Saint Polten with his corps of 30,000 men, to be prepared for any movement from the rear from Krems, and General Vandamme with 10,000 Würtembergers was left in a tête du pont at Lintz to watch and report upon the state of affairs at Bohemia. A corps of Saxons under Marshal Bernadotte had been ordered up to join the main army, and had marched along the confines of Bohemia to Ratisbon, whence they might now be expected to arrive to relieve these two detachments, who might then be brought to Vienna to strengthen the army which might have to oppose itself to 90,000 men in close observation at a short distance of the capital of Germany. Napoleon ordered the troops left in garrison at Ratisbon, Passau, and Lintz to occupy their time in the construction of strong defences, and sent them a considerable artillery, and supplies of all kinds, for the maintenance of their principal communications, while he directed forts to be erected at Ips, Waldsee, Mölk, and Mautern. It is well said by M. Thiers of Napoleon regarding these precautions: "Car ce capitaine qui, dans la politique avait l'imprudence de ne jamais supposer la mauvaise fortune, la supposait toujours à la guerre, et se précautionnait admirablement contre elle."

Napoleon was equally mindful of his right flank ; for, although Marshal Lefebvre had been sent with 24,000 Bavarians to hold the Tyrol, yet there were apprehensions that the Archduke John would be called up from Italy to defend the existence of the Austrian monarchy. General Bruyère was sent with 3,000 troops to Baden, on the Styrian frontier, to speak words of peace to the German mountaineers, and 1,000 horsemen, under Lauriston, an aide-de-camp of the Emperor, were now sent to Marianzell, while Napoleon employed his numerous cavalry by sending Generals Montbrun, Colbert, and Marulaz, with all their forces, to Neustadt, Bruch, Presburg, and even to the lake of Neusiedel, in order to oblige the Archduke John, if he were coming up from that side, to take a circuitous march as far round as by Günz, Raab, and Komorn, in order to make the junction not only more difficult but impossible in the same space of time as the Viceroy could bring up, or send to the Emperor, the French troops out of Italy.

#### 21. THE WAR IN ITALY, THE TYROL, AND POLAND.

The army of Prince Eugène had taken up their quarters, after the battle of Sacile, at the famous position of Caldiero, upon the Adige, holding Verona by the left wing under Baraguay d' Hilliers. The Emperor had sent down General Macdonald to command, under the Viceroy, and he had his head-quarters at Vago. The Archduke John, following up the retreat of the French, had advanced the Austrian army under his command as far as Vicenza, but he had been foiled in an assault on the fort of Malgherra, near Venice. On the 28th of April, he received accounts of the disasters which had befallen his brother on the Danube, and he immediately began to call back his advance, and to commence a retrograde movement towards the hereditary States. On the 1st of May, the French lookout from Caldiero perceived by the dust on the horizon that a great number of wheels were moving towards the Friuli, but as yet the Viceroy had not been apprised of the Emperor's success at Ratisbon. As soon as this was reported to Macdonald, he seized the hand of the Prince, and exclaimed : " Victoire en Allemagne, Prince, c'est le moment de marcher en avant." Orders were accordingly issued forthwith, and on the 7th they had advanced as far as the Piave, across which they found all the bridges destroyed. The Austrians, in fact, had called a halt behind this river to rest themselves, and were reposing in that security, when the dragoons of Grouchy forded the stream, surprised, and fell upon them. The Archduke resolved to defend himself, and as soon as he could rally his men he advanced, and drove back the enemy in disorder across the river. He then occupied the ground as if he intended to receive battle, resting his right on the bridge of Prinli (which he destroyed), and his left on the Rocca de Strada, where the two roads unite, which lead to Cornegliano. A considerable artillery garnished the range of hills on which his infantry stood, and his cavalry were massed on the level ground below them. Here they awaited the attack of the French. Eugène was glad to avail himself of the

opportunity, now apparently in his power, of wiping out his defeat at Sacile, and resolved to attempt the passage of the river by force. At 4 in the morning of the 8th, six divisions, led by General Dessaix, cast themselves into the Piave at the fords of Lovalin and San Michele, two miles above Prinli, and crossed the stream with the water up to their armpits. The Archduke allowed the passage of the river without opposition, thinking he should thus have the advantage over the French, who would then have a rapid river in their rear in advancing to the attack. At 7 in the morning the light horse of Grouchy and Pully were received with the fire of 24 guns, and at the same time charged by the Austrian cavalry, who drove them back in great disorder. The main body had not yet crossed, but Dessaix formed his infantry in two squares, placing his artillery between them, and in this way held his ground until the Viceroy came up, who launched forward the cavalry of Grenier and Sahne, with the infantry divisions Broussier and Lamarque. The French cavalry immediately assumed the offensive, and charged the Austrian guns, which were defended by a ditch. Led on by General Pully, they succeeded in capturing 14, and in putting to rout the cavalry who defended them, of whom three generals, Wolfskehl, Rissner, and Hager were taken prisoners, and the colonel of Att's Hussars was left for dead on the field. By 3 o'clock the whole of the French army had crossed the Piave, and had become engaged on the left bank. The Archduke John, who had lost the favourable opportunity to fight while the French army was crossing, now advanced to the attack; but the Viceroy, who had assembled 38 battalions and 4,000 cavalry, and was quite ready for any contingency, anticipated him by a march to his right. The divisions Abbec, Grouchy, and Grenier, supported by Macdonald, attacked the villages of Cima d'Olma and Teze. The Austrians saw that they could not keep their ground, but sent forward a strong column of cavalry to charge the guns of the division Broussier, but they did not succeed in capturing them. The Archduke, nevertheless, still held the mill of La Capanna, the most important point of his position, and Eugène accordingly united the divisions Lamarque and Durutte to assail it with the bayonet, which terminated the day with a complete victory. The Austrians now began to fall back on every side, and in the course of the night retreated on Cornegliano and Sacile, leaving 2,500 killed and wounded. The French bivouacked on the field. By the 11th and 12th, the same days on which Napoleon reached Vienna, the army of the Archduke John reached Venzone, and entering the gorge of Chiusa Veneta, abandoned Italy.

At this moment the army of General Marmont, comprising 10,000 or 11,000 men, marching up from Dalmatia, came out of Croatia, and proceeded by Carniola and Styria to unite with the grand army. The General was, however, in complete ignorance both of the events which had occurred in his neighbourhood and of the forces of the enemy which he might meet on his march. He moved with a long train of pack horses, carrying his supplies and sick, as he had no magazines to depend upon, and had already reached

Villach on the 20th, when he received orders from the Commander-in-Chief to join him by Lintz, and forthwith directed his march across Carinthia. At this time, without knowing it, he was not far distant from the Archduke John, whom the Viceroy was following with 30,000 men, by way of Villach and Tarvis. On the 18th Eugène stormed and carried the fort of Madborghetto, and proceeded the same day to carry Prasel, while General Macdonald took the road by Laybach, with 26,000 or 27,000 men, with which he proposed to unite himself with Marmont. On the 22nd Macdonald came unexpectedly on the Austrian General Meerveldt, forming Archduke John's rearguard, who at once capitulated with 4,000 men in an entrenched camp in the mountains, which contained considerable magazines, and was defended by 63 pieces of artillery. The Austrian corps under Chastelan had reached Innspruck, and had pushed forward its patrols as far as Lofer and Reichenthal, on the road to Salzburg. This corps and that of General Jellalich, who was opposed to the Bavarian General Wrede in the passes of the Tyrol, together formed 16,000 or 17,000 men; but they were commanded to act separately in the difficult passes of the Alps, of which they had both great experience and perfect local knowledge. Lefebvre, however, had, as above stated, been sent by Napoleon to look after these divisions of the enemy, and on the 13th of May came up with General Chastelan at Worzel, whom he attacked and routed; and, advancing on Innspruck, that town surrendered to his summons. The patriots under Hofer and Teimar still held the inaccessible Alps which divide the German and French Italian; but the regulars, abandoning the ground altogether, now marched under Chastelan on Vienna, cutting transversely the road by which the Viceroy was coming up out of Italy.

The Prince Joseph Poniatowski was opposed to the Archduke Ferdinand in Poland, and had relinquished to him the city of Warsaw, with the whole of the left bank of the Vistula; but while the Archduke descended to seize upon Thorn, Poniatowski ascended the right bank to possess himself of Cracow, and Ferdinand was very nearly cut off from Galicia.

## 22. NAPOLEON CROSSES THE DANUBE.

As Napoleon looked from the windows of Schönbrunn upon the splendid scene where the Danube throws its thousand channels to light up the landscape, rich in woods and verdure, he pondered over the means at his disposal to pass to the other side of the river, where the Austrian host, in their white habiliments, peopled the valley and held their own with a vast power. How was he to pass the mighty river? Both as it approaches to and as it quits the neighbourhood of Vienna, it is a strong deep current restrained within a precipitous gorge, but where it revels in the plain the stream is comparatively gentle and not, in general, deep. To attempt to cross such a river, *in the face of so large a force*, was a strategical as well as a natural difficulty, but not to Napoleon's genius an impossibility. He seems to have resolved that, at all events, he must not quit

Vienna to seek a passage at a distance from the city, in the expectation of any advantage that would correspond with the risk of losing the capital. At Krems, for example, he could cross with ease, but he knew that as soon as he had quitted for that object the Archduke would be invited, nay, constrained, to repossess himself of Vienna. To descend for the purpose of crossing lower down would be to aggravate the chances ; for, in addition to losing the city, he might also lose possession of his present base of operations. He therefore anxiously reconnoitred, with the most able men under his command, the right banks of the Danube, both up and down the stream. The river, in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, divides and subdivides into many channels, and the many streams intersecting cut up the country. About half a league higher up, at Nussdorf, the principal branch is 180 toises across, in a deep and impetuous channel, with only one island, separated from the left bank by a branch 50 toises broad ; but the Bisamberg at that spot completely commands both streams and the island between them. At Kaiser Ebersdorf there is the large island of Lob-Awe, separated from the right bank by a current of 170 toises broad. It was determined, after much discussion, to make an attempt at both these points before the Archduke could come up with the bulk of his army. Lannes, who was encamped up stream, was accordingly directed to take steps to place a bridge at Nussdorf, and Massena to do the same below, opposite the island called Lob-Awe ; and the former was to seek by a demonstration to distract the attention of the enemy. St. Hilaire detached two battalions, on the 13th of May, to cross by boats to the island at Nussdorf, called the Schvertze Lacken ; but no sooner had they set foot on it than General Nordeman, despatched by Hiller, advanced into the island, crossed over a dykehead which had been overlooked, and both battalions were made prisoners. The attempt at this point had, of course, diverted the attention of the Austrians towards it, but, though the passage was now abandoned, it was made useful by distracting observation from the island of Lob-Awe (or Lobau, as the French call it), where every endeavour was to be directed to establishing a bridge across the three streams with which the Danube is here divided—one about 500 yards wide, one about 300, and one of 150 ; and the great island being partly covered with fine trees and shrubs would conceal, in a great measure, the operation from the enemy. Massena was directed to take possession of Lob-Awe, and on the 17th sent General Molitor from Ebersdorf, who, with little difficulty, cleared the island of the few troops who occupied it. The great arsenal of Vienna, which had so fortunately for Napoleon come into his possession, offered abundance of material for constructions of every kind ; but the Austrians had removed or burned all the boats on the river, and there was a deficiency of cordage and an absolute want of anchors. The wonderful forethought of the Emperor, who before quitting Paris had written to the Minister of Marine, Admiral Decrès, to send to the army 1,200 sailors, was now fully appreciated, when it had become necessary to find substitutes for these deficiencies ; but the

rapidity of march had outstripped their arrival, and the work had to be done by the French corps of engineers, a very able body of men, who had made many campaigns under Napoleon, and were up to many of those expedients which the mother of invention teaches. About 90 boats, which had been sunk in the river, were discovered and floated; cordage, though of no great power, was also sought out and obtained from holes and corners; and the idea was started of forging anchors from the iron nails and hinges that could be got out of the stores; but, as time was of the utmost value, this idea was abandoned, and great rocks were brought down stream to which to moor the boats, and some large guns, and immense boxes, filled with shot, were used for the same purpose. It was foreseen, however, that, in addition to the difficulty of getting past a vigilant enemy, the freshets which suddenly came down the stream from the melting of the snow in the mountains at this season, would probably overwhelm all such expedients. All these appliances were, nevertheless, collected in the little village of Ebersdorf, to which village the Emperor had moved his head-quarters, and here he was indefatigable day and night in personally overlooking the preparations and superintending the minutest details. The construction of the bridge was intrusted to General Bertrand, with the General of Artillery, Pernetti, under him. On the 19th all the troops, which had been brought up from every side, were passed across into Lob-Awe. The island was a league and a half in length by a league in breadth, and the centre of it was perfectly out of the range of the enemy's shot, so that a large force once in it, could not readily be driven out again. The division Molitor crossed in boats, followed by the division Boudet, both belonging to the corps of Massena. The only Austrians who were met with in the island were a strong guard of cavalry, but these retired before the French, and at once abandoned it to them.

At the moment of Davoust's obeying the Emperor's summons, the Austrians were reported to have shown in force at Lintz, and he was directed with the three divisions of Friant, Gudin, and Morent, to watch Kollowrath vigilantly, and Lannes, Massena, and Besières, with the Guard and the whole of the cavalry, including 14 regiments of cuirassiers, were forthwith crossed into the island with 80,000 men. Molitor reported a very convenient locality, which the French call *un rentrant de la rivière*, where the bridge to the mainland, near Essling, could be placed under the protection of works and floating batteries on either hand; and the Emperor having approved of it, the pontoons which had been taken at Landsbut were brought to the front, and the work was begun and finished on the 20th. While the Emperor continued to hasten operations by his presence, news was brought him that the Austrians had effected a landing on the right bank at Nussdorf. Satisfied that the troops there, under Davoust, would deal satisfactorily with this diversion, he nevertheless sent a brigade of cuirassiers, under Savary, to watch and bring him word of the enemy's proceedings.

## 23. BATTLE OF ESSLING OR ASPERN.

The Archduke Charles could see from the Bisamberg the works in progress, and on the 20th came down to the island with a strong reconnoisance, under General Klenau. He immediately ordered the concentration of his army, and the three corps of Hiller, Bellegarde, and Hohenzollern were brought down to the Marckfeld (as the district lying between Wagram and Essling is named), while the corps of Count Rosenberg was sent into Enzersdorf, and the grenadiers and cavalry in considerable masses formed the reserve. The Prince of Reuss remained upon the Bisamberg to watch the movements of Davoust along the right bank of the Danube, and 300 guns were placed in position to bear on any advance of the French from the *retrant* out of the island, where they had, with great boldness and expedition, thrown up a double parapet, or tête du pont, resting on either hand on the river. At 3 in the afternoon, General Lasalle, with 4 regiments of cavalry, here crossed the bridge into the tête du pont, followed by the divisions Molitor and Boudet. Lasalle went forward and charged the scattered troops in observation, and scoured the plain, while the infantry advanced to occupy the villages of Essling and Aspern, and the wood which lies between the latter village and the river, and which covers all the river bank and islands on this flank. Molitor was immediately attacked by Hiller and Bellegarde, but Massena came up to his aid, when the battle became general about 4 o'clock. Napoleon had just come up when he received a report that the bridge at Ebersdorf, connecting the island to the mainland of the right bank, had been carried away by a freshet from the mountains, falling suddenly when but half the light cavalry of Marulaz, which was crossing at the time, had got over. He sent orders to Bertrand and Pernetti to use the utmost activity to repair the breach, while he himself overlooked the battle. Lannes took command of the division Boudet, which occupied the village of Essling, where he was attacked by Rosenberg. 300 pieces of cannon thundered over Aspern and Essling, of which every house was occupied by French troops; and Boudet in Essling, and Molitor in Aspern, received the attacks made under cover of the gun fire by Hiller and Bellegarde with unflinching courage, in which they were supported and encouraged by the guidance of Marshals Marmont and Lannes, and by the approving eye of Napoleon himself, who ordered Bessières forward to fall with the cavalry of the guard on the batteries, while D'Espagna and Lasalle charged the infantry of Hohenzollern, but without shaking it. The French troops held the villages all through the night, which Napoleon passed *en bivouac*, surrounded by the cavalry of Lasalle in the small plain between them. By the exertions of Bertrand and Pernetti the bridge was re-established before the middle of the night, and Le Grand's division and some cuirassiers crossed by it before daylight on the 21st. Berthier, whose power of sight was something

remarkable, was sent to the summit of the clock tower at Essling, whence he could see clearly the immense columns of the Archduke's army still marching up across the Marckfeld, which he calculated at 80,000 or 90,000 men. Whilst he was making his report to the Emperor, word came that the great bridge to the main bank was again broken by the rise of the waters. Napoleon, for the moment, flinched before adversity: he had not yielded to the first blow, but the second stunned him. He ordered the abandonment of the villages, and the retreat into Lob-Awe; but Molitor, opportunely, came up and entreated a recall of the order. He showed that the possession of the village of Aspern, in which he had passed the night, was of immense importance, and only to be recovered again by torrents of blood, and that he believed the same was true of the village of Essling. The Emperor withdrew to weigh this representation, and while so occupied word was brought that the bridge was rendered passable again, and that the guns and ammunition were crossing it; he therefore allowed himself to be persuaded, and sent immediate orders to Boudet to retain possession, while Molitor was ordered to re-enter Aspern. Nevertheless, he had but two divisions of infantry across, and the cavalry of the reserve, for the cuirassiers had yet to pass the river, and this was fearful odds on which to risk his fortune. The Emperor had about his person his Guards, with Marshal Bessières and some German troops, numbering in all at least 50,000 men. Uneasy at the disparity in numbers between his troops and those opposed to them, Napoleon was on horseback by break of day of the 21st, and rode forward to the outposts to satisfy himself as to the force by which he might expect to be assailed. The villages formed as it were two stout bastions, not more than one British mile asunder; the houses in them were of stone, and only two stories high, and these were surrounded by enclosures and garden-walls of the same material. Essling possessed in addition a stone granary, three stories high, furnished with loopholes, which was capable of being rendered a small citadel. Aspern was more scattered than Essling, but had a churchyard surrounded by a wall. The ground sloped gently with a natural glacis to the river in the rear, and both were within easy reach of the bridges. As soon as Napoleon had made these observations, he resolved to maintain his ground and wait the arrival of more troops, who had already crossed the great bridge at Ebersdorf, and were now more than half across the island. He therefore sent orders to Boudet, who was still in Essling, to hold it at all hazards, and Marshal Lannes undertook the charge. Molitor had been driven out of Aspern, but Massena was directed to assist Molitor in re-entering and holding it, while Bessières, with all the cavalry, occupied the space between the villages, where was a sunken road, or dry watercourse or ditch, which was well filled with tirailleurs. The artillery was placed under the superior direction of Napoleon himself, so as to bear with the fullest effect on either hand.

*The Austrians at length moved forward in five massy columns; the right column, under Hiller, marching direct upon Aspern with*  
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19 battalions and 22 squadrons. They were closely accompanied on their left by the force of Bellegarde, consisting of 20 battalions and 16 squadrons. These two columns were supported in reserve by the corps of Hohenzollern, having 22 battalions and 8 squadrons. The fourth and fifth columns, under Count Rosenberg, having 26 battalions and 24 squadrons, moved to the attack of Essling. The whole was accompanied by 288 pieces of cannon. It was 3 o'clock before General Nordmann, leading the right attack, fell upon Aspern and the woody islets between it and the Danube. Two French regiments of the line, under Colonels Marin and Petit, received the attack, which was promptly seconded by the whole corps under Hiller. The contest was stubborn and bloody; nevertheless, Molitor retained possession of Aspern, while Massena, with the division of Legrand, held the islet. However, Hiller was soon reinforced by Bellegarde, and came on to a second assault against Aspern, when General Nacquart drove Molitor into the churchyard. Massena, therefore, ordered forward Morulaz at the head of 6 regiments of cavalry. Hiller withstood their charge by throwing his infantry into squares and succeeded in repelling them, although the French got possession of some guns in the scramble.

Lannes at Essling was not so early attacked as Massena at Aspern, but, in the meantime, Rosenberg marching round by Enzersdorf, had carried that village, and had now marched on to Essling, until his men could no longer endure the fire of grape and musketry which Lannes concentrated upon the Austrian attack. The advance of Hohenzollern's column into the space between the villages excited apprehension lest they should be thus cut off from one another, notwithstanding the scattered infantry which protected the junction; but Lannes called up the cuirassiers under D'Espagna and the chasseurs of Lasalle, and placed them under the command of Bessières, who bravely lashed the Austrian reserve of cavalry under Prince John of Lichtenstein. Such a shock of horse has been rarely witnessed, and, although the contest raged with various fortune, under which the brave D'Espagna succumbed, yet Hohenzollern was impeded in his object, and altogether hindered from forcing the French centre. The contest at Aspern, on the other hand, continued adverse to its defence, and, after five hours' conflict, Molitor was driven out by Nordmann and Vacquart. When night put an end to the struggle, Essling alone remained in the hands of the French. Their supply of ammunition throughout the day was very uncertain, owing to the continual interruption of the communications across the Danube, over which the troops still continued to pour; officers were sent down to scour the line of passage, anxiously enquiring for the park of artillery, in order to get up cartridges, and not very readily meeting with it in the midst of the confusion which reigned in the island. The troops on both sides, exhausted with their day's work, lay down to rest where they stood, and friends and enemies reposed amidst the unconscious dead about the villages. The Emperor rested in his cloak on the dry sand of the

Danube, within half-a-mile of the Austrian batteries. Here, however, in the course of the night an incident occurred which grieved him to the heart. Within earshot of Napoleon, Lannes and Bessières broke out into a violent altercation. The former had happened to have commanded the latter, when advancing at the head of the cavalry, "charger à fond." He now angrily enquired when he had ever acted otherwise. In the dispute that now arose swords were actually drawn by the angry Marshals, when the interference of the Emperor appeased their differences, and induced them to lie down to the short last night's rest that one of them was fated to enjoy on earth!

Before the day broke on the 22nd, the cavalry of Nansouty and St. Germain, the infantry of Oudinot and Carra-St.-Cyr, and a portion of both the old and new guard, had come up to the support of the Emperor. They had crossed the bridges with difficulty, for at every moment large encumbrances came floating down against them, impelled by the ingenuity of the Austrian engineers. While the bridges bent under the weight of men and guns which they had to support, the shock of large trees and vessels laden with stone and flaming substances, with the continual rise and fall of the waters and the vibration caused by the troops, lessened at every moment the ties which attached them to the shores. Bertrand and Perretti were indefatigable in watching and repairing the fractures, and in turning away the floating masses which continued to endanger the structure. In the middle of the night, however, the great bridge again gave way, but nevertheless the divisions of St. Hilaire and Demont got over, and a considerable supply of ammunition also arrived to the front in the course of the night. From 60,000 to 70,000 French soldiers were now in rank, in the narrow position of the previous days, between the villages and the Danube, and at 4 in the morning Napoleon was already in the field on horseback, surrounded by his marshals.

Massena now relieved Molitor's division from the longer defence of Aspern, and withdrew them. They were, as might be supposed, sadly reduced by the previous day's conflict, perhaps to nearly one-half of their original number, and were brought into the islets, where the engineer Lazovski had succeeded in throwing up an epaulement extending down to the Danube, behind which Molitor now took post. The divisions of Legrand and Carra-St.-Cyr were brought up to Aspern, and the young guard sent out their skirmishers in a first essay against the enemy. Lannes, leaving the division Boudet to retain possession of Essling, brought up St. Hilaire to their support, and Oudinot reinforced the centre, while the old guard was placed in reserve, and the Archduke on his side brought up his reserve under the Prince of Reuss into Breitenlee. Massena early began his attack on Aspern, and succeeded, after a hard struggle, in regaining possession of the churchyard from General Vacquart, in which he was greatly advantaged by the active fire kept up by Molitor from his new position in the islet. On the other hand, Essling was assailed in the early twilight by Rosenberg, and carried by the Archduke's grenadiers. The granary,

however, still held out; for St. Hilaire, by a sudden effort, had again wrested it from the Austrians.

Napoleon began to tire of the contest in this *coupé-gorge*, but a report came in from Davoust that he had passed his corps to the main land, and that Demont was in the act of crossing the bridge out of the island. With eagle eye he discovered, about 7 o'clock, that the centre of the Austrian line occupied ground too extensive, as he thought, for its numbers, and gave orders to Lannes to march against it. He placed at his disposal 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse, and, having given the signal, the division St. Hilaire, having on its sides the divisions Clarapède and Tharreau, and farther on the flanks the whole of the cavalry, were put in motion. The division Oudinot came up in second line, and, as they thus went gaily forward, "selon l'ordre profond les unes en carrées et les autres en colonnes." Hohenzollern retreated before Lannes, and fell back on the support of the Prince of Reuss at Breitenlee. The Austrian artillery poured its fire upon the advancing mass as it approached, and caused terrible openings in the French column, so that the Emperor ordered Oudinot to deploy, and sent orders to St. Hilaire to do likewise. The Archduke, seeing his centre menaced, flew to the retiring division of Hohenzollern, re-formed their lines, sent forward the Imperial cavalry, replaced the guns in position, when, seizing the flag of Zach's regiment, he showed himself the worthy descendant of his ancient line by leading them in person against the enemy. General Count Colloredo was struck in the head with a round shot and brought to the ground. Several of his staff were likewise knocked over. The Prince's example was, however, emulated by the generals, and, reanimated by the stirring scene, the soldiers followed their chiefs, or stood firm; the further irruption of Lannes's column was stopped, and Savary, himself an eye witness, says, "Dès lors il fut facile de prévoir que la journée ne pouvait avoir une issue heureuse." At this critical moment Hohenzollern, perceiving an opening occasioned by the unequal advance of some of the regiments forming the French column, ordered forward Traluk's regiment; and the Archduke, seeing the importance of the movement, supported it by six regiments of Hungarian grenadiers. These fresh troops went boldly forward until they were stopped by the batteries in front of Essling. The Austrian batteries however were near, and soon came up, and began to open at musket-distance. It was seen that Lannes's column could not stand against this force, for the Austrians so pressed on General St. Hilaire that he had the utmost difficulty in stopping them, and, in the struggle, this veteran of the army of Italy fell mortally wounded from a shell. The Marshal immediately took the command of the division, and, uniting it with Oudinot, brought back the column. The extreme narrowness of the position massed the French troops so that they could not deploy; and, to endeavour to overcome this disadvantage, the cuirassiers were sent forward. The steady battalions of Austria formed square, and though the cavalry charged up to the points of the bayonets, no one square was broken, until the assailants were met by the Austrian

horse, and driven back upon the French infantry. The Austrians now carried Essling in spite of Boudet's exertions. The French position was at this period of the day, seriously menaced, when General Mouton placed himself at the head of the Fuzileers, and for the moment reobtained possession of the village, though he also here received a severe wound, which obliged him to quit the field. Since mid-day the supply of ammunition had begun to fall short in the French army, and about half-past 8 was exhausted. At this critical hour M. de Mortemart arrived on the field, eagerly seeking the Emperor, who was giving his orders from a spot called the tile-yard, between Aspern and Essling. The information he brought was of most serious importance: the utter destruction of the great bridge by the stone-ships and other masses floated down upon it by the enemy, and consequent interruption of the passage of troops and stores, and of all further communication with the mainland. Napoleon saw instantly that the effect of this would be to deprive him altogether of his ammunition, and, as he did not deem it prudent to trust wholly to the bayonet and sabre to reverse the fortunes of the day; he at once ordered the troops to retire gradually across the pontoon bridge into the island of Lob-Awe. The Austrians perceiving symptoms of vacillation, and that something had gone wrong with the French, resumed the offensive at all points, and pouring in an incessant fire of grape and round-shot upon the enemy's columns, massed their forces on the roads leading down to the *tête de pont*. Anxious to crown the victory by a decisive movement, the Archduke brought forward his reserve of Hungarian grenadiers, and placing himself at their head, advanced against the French, supported by the awful fire of the whole Austrian artillery. The French Generals, with their troops utterly exhausted, saw fresh assailants springing, as it were, out of the earth. Massena and Lannes remained at their post animating their troops by their presence, and by their heroic bearing. A close combat of fire-arms now ensued. An officer of Lannes's staff, seeing the Marshal especially exposed in this *mélée*, by being on horseback, urged him to descend, and just as he did so a round-shot struck him, and broke both his knees. The Emperor was about to quit the field and cross the bridge, to take care that it was kept clear for the retreating army, when this fearful accident was reported to him; and presently the litter, on which was borne the bleeding veteran wrapped in a military cloak, came near him. He immediately approached it and embraced his dying friend, who, in a feeble voice, addressing the comrade of so many dangers, said: "Adieu, Sire! vous allez perdre celui qui faut votre meilleur ami, et votre fidèle compagnon d'armes; vivez pour tous, et accordez quelque souvenir à un de vos meilleurs amis qui dans deux heures n'existera plus." The Emperor, overwhelmed with grief even to tears, pressed the hand of the sinking hero, and passed on to the bridge. Marshal Bessières then approached, and warmly pressed the hand of Lannes, in remembrance of their recent difference. Massena also was seen to approach him, with his eyes red with grief. But it was not a moment for sentiment, or the whole

army would have shed tears on the highly honoured head of Marshal Lannes !

#### 24. THE FRENCH ARMY RETIRE INTO THE ISLAND OF LOB-AWE.

Massena yet continued in possession of the village of Aspern, and resolved to do so, when he was summoned by the Emperor, together with Bessières, Berthier, and other chiefs of corps, who passed over the bridge into the island, assembled around Napoleon, who had here fixed his head-quarters beneath a tree, where he, under the very serious circumstances in which the army was now placed, called them in to council. These famous and brave commanders unanimously expressed to their chief their opinion that it was necessary to retire the army without loss of time, and even at the risk of the loss of their cannon and their wounded, to the right bank of the Danube, and even to evacuate the island of Lob-Awe. With great apparent deference, the Emperor silently listened to these coinciding opinions, when, with the authority which belonged to his station, and the wonderful resolution that, at all times and under all adversities, sustained his spirit, he thus addressed them : " Mais, messieurs, c'est comme si vous me donniez le conseil d'aller à Strasbourg. If I pass to the other bank of the river, I shall be obliged to evacuate Vienna, and I must then soon be driven back even to the Rhine. No : I must remain in the island of Lob-Awe. We shall soon restore our broken communications, for we have still immense resources. We will not abandon our wounded ; they will recover and be restored to our ranks before the expiration of a month, and, in a few days, Eugène will come to us out of Italy, and Lefebvre out of the Tyrol." Then, turning to Massena, he said : " Massena ! tu achèveras ce que tu as si glorieusement commencé ; tu peux seul rester ici, et en imposer à l'archiduc pour le retenir immobile devant toi le peu de jours qui nous sont nécessaires." Transported with the cordiality of Napoleon's address, Massena replied : " Vous êtes, Sire, un homme de cœur et digne de nous commander ! Non ! il ne fait pas fuir comme des lâches qui auraient été vaincus ; ne perdons-nous notre attitude de vainqueurs, bornons-nous à répasser le petit bras du Danube et je vous jure d'y noyer tout Autrichien que voudroit le franchir en notre face." Davoust, who was also at the council, promised to guard Vienna from all assaults, either from the side of Presburg or Krems. After the conference, Napoleon, attended by Savary and Berthier, withdrew across the Danube to re-establish the head-quarters at Ebersdorf, leaving to Massena the command of the army in the island of Lob-Awe ; but, before he lay down to rest, he issued orders to employ every boat on the river to carry up biscuits, meat, and brandy to his companions in arms, *who had so gloriously struggled through this terrible day.*

*The French entirely withdrew from Aspern and Essling before day broke on the 23rd, but no offensive operations were attempted against them in the night by the Austrians, who appeared to be too*

much overcome by fatigue to trouble themselves any further about their adversaries. The victors lost in the battle, according to their own accounts, 4,286 killed, and 16,326 wounded; and the French, according to theirs, 1,100 killed, and 3,000 wounded. It is, however, idle to accept such statements, for the conflict both at Essling and Aspern was no doubt most sanguinary on both sides. Whatever may be the opinion of strategists as to Napoleon's advance with a rapid river in his rear, spanned but by one single bridge, there can be no doubt but that the Archduke Charles, if he had shown a tythe of his former energy, would not have lain down to rest this night, until he had got possession of the pontoon bridge, and then at least a third of the French army must have capitulated.

While Napoleon, with the energy of his character, was collecting timber and workmen, and striving to repair the broken bridge, and to build many more, the promised battalion of 1,200 sailors arrived in the camp from Antwerp. They were immediately placed under the orders of the Engineers, and the great boats, laden with heavy stones, which had done so much mischief, were at once emptied, careened, and made ready for other work; while rafts and small boats to be propelled by oars, were organised in order to prevent the descent of any more masses by the stream. The bridge was now re-constructed by Bertrand, upon piles, across the main arm of the river, and smaller bridges were directed to be prepared, so that the army should not again be exposed to the fearful contingency it had just escaped. These were so bound together that they could be floated to any spot, and then firmly fastened to one shore be carried across by the action of the stream, and readily secured to the other. The Emperor's attention was immediately given to the reorganisation of the army in every department. The well-being of the individual soldier under arms was specially looked to, and the additional reinforcements which had been some time on their march from every side of Germany were called up. The day after the French army had withdrawn into Lob-Awe, the Austrians wasted a great number of shot upon the island; but the Emperor would not permit any response to be made to this useless taunt, and, accordingly, it soon ceased. He named General La Reboissière to be chief of all the batteries, ordering them to be thoroughly overhauled; and, as there was a want of gunners with the army, he directed an appropriation of three or four guns to each regiment, which might be served by the most intelligent men of the corps; and in this way 200 small guns were attached to the regimental force. He now also increased the artillery of the Guard to 84 pieces; and by these means the whole artillery of the army was increased in a short time to 700 pieces of cannon.

#### 25. MILITARY CHARACTER OF MARSHAL LANNES, DUC DE MONTEBELLO.

Jean Lannes was born at Lestoue in 1769, entered the Revolutionary army as a volunteer in 1792, and became Colonel in 1795. He first distinguished himself under Bonaparte in his Italian

campaigns. He accompanied his chief to Egypt, and cemented his friendship with him at the Battle of Aboukir. Napoleon, soon after his election to the throne, made him a Marshal of France, and gave him the title of Duc de Montebello and he has since left on record this opinion of him, in his conversation with Montholon at St. Helena: "Lannes was wise, prudent, and withal, audacious, gifted with imperturbable sang froid in presence of the enemy. He had received little education, so that all his qualities were derived from Nature." He was still young when he first attained to the command of an independent army of 25,000 men. He did not understand the art of strategy, but was superior to most of his colleagues on the field of battle. His remains are deposited in the Pantheon at the church of St. Geneviève at Paris.

#### 26. THE VICEROY OF ITALY JOINS THE GRAND ARMY.— BATTLE OF RAAB.

The effect of Marshal Lefebvre's operations in the Tyrolean Alps was to drive Chastelan and Jellalich to unite with the Archduke John. The Prince having found it impossible to reach Bohemia, turned aside towards Hungary. The Viceroy, in his march through the passes of the mountains, heard that the division of Jellalich was in march from Leoben or San Michele, and General Grenier was sent to occupy this post. Jellalich, on his arrival, was astonished at this sudden apparition of a French force in his front, but, nevertheless, took up a good position, and prepared to receive an attack. The Viceroy came up on the 25th with Grenier's infantry and a brigade of cavalry under Sahuc, and, after a slight resistance, the Austrians were soon overcome — scattered in every direction, leaving 800 killed, 1,200 wounded, and 5,000 prisoners. Jellalich himself only escaped with difficulty, with an escort of some 40 dragoons. On the 28th Macdonald's column arrived at Gratz, where he found the Archduke John had left a garrison, and had retreated on the same day with 12,000 men, upon the Raab, by Furstenfeld. The corps of Marshal Marmont was expected to unite with the army of Italy at this point; the Viceroy, therefore, leaving Macdonald at Gratz, pursued his progress to Vienna, where he arrived on the 31st, on which day Marmont and Macdonald effected their junction. Napoleon, on hearing this state of affairs from Eugène, immediately directed these united forces to march onward in pursuit of the Archduke John. Napoleon's instructions to the Viceroy entered into the most minute details, and were, like all his arrangements, a model for military study. He showed him that the part he expected him to play was to oblige the Archduke John to keep his distance from Vienna; that he must force him as far down the Danube as possible, so that every endeavour to cross that river, to unite with his brother, the Generalissimo, should be by the widest circle. He suggested the river Raab as the position to be occupied by the Viceroy's united divisions, and that Komorat

its confluence with the Danube, and Gratz at its sources, should be taken possession of. The country thus occupied being rich in resources, the Emperor directed that vast magazines should be formed; but, without waiting for this slow process, he ordered that, for the immediate supply of the troops, exhausted by their long march through the mountains, the transports belonging to their divisions should be sent immediately towards Vienna, to which point full waggons could be expedited, to be exchanged against the empty ones. On the 7th of June the Viceroy came upon the traces of the Archduke John at Steinam-Anger, where he had an engagement with a portion of the column; and the same day Macdonald came up to Komoru. On the 11th the bridge of Karako, over the Marezal, was forced by General Grenier, and the whole army, on the 12th, advanced in the direction of Papa, where the Viceroy established his head-quarters, on that evening, after a sharp engagement. He found the Archduke the next day united with his brother the Palatine in a position or entrenched camp near the Raab, on which river the Austrian army rested its left, turning its back on the Danube, which flowed a few leagues in the rear. The corps united counted about 22,000 regulars, and 18,000 Magyar or Hungarian levies. They were placed on the hills about Czanak, having before them the Pancha, a rocky rivulet running into the Raab by Kys-Megyer, and Izabadhegki. At the former is a great square building which had been crénéléed and fortified. The cavalry were placed on both wings. Having reconnoitred the ground, the Viceroy ordered the attack for 4 in the morning of the 14th of June. He proposed to move by echelon on the right, but in the act of marching the manœuvre degenerated into a parallel order of battle. The division of Serras, which formed the right column, was directed against Kys-Megyer, to attain which he had to pass the difficult rivulet of the Pancha, where he was warmly received by a cloud of marksmen under Colonel Hammes, who, after keeping the assailants at bay amongst the rough stones forming the bed of the stream, reached the building, and though he was overwhelmed with fire, repulsed his opponents three times. In the meanwhile, the divisions of Durutte and Severoli, forming the centre and left columns, advanced on Izabadhegki under a heavy fire of artillery, which made them flinch in their order of march, so that the Austrian battalions of Jellalich, Coloredo, and Frimont overcame them. The Viceroy immediately brought up the division Paethod and the Italian Guard forming the reserve, and rallying the columns of Durutte and Severoli advanced again to the village; but Serras had, in the meantime, got possession of Kys-Megyer, and the cavalry of Montbrun and Grouchy were now seen to come at full gallop round the right flank, charging all before them; so that, after a severe combat, the Hungarian horse under General Meszery were obliged to withdraw, which exposed the left wing of the Archduke's position. The Austrian army accordingly retired under cover of a heavy fire of their guns, and the French crossed the Pancha without further obstacles. The Archduke took the road to Komoru, and

night put an end to the combat. The Viceroy then left General Baraguay d'Hilliers to reduce the fortress of Raab, which was an old place bastioned and revêted, and defended by a numerous garrison; but nevertheless, it surrendered by capitulation on the 24th.

### 27. SIX WEEKS IN LOB-AWE.

The public spirit in Germany was not quiescent while Napoleon remained with his grand army shut up in Lob-Awe, preparing for a second spring upon the great adversary in his front. Hofer was on the alert in the Tyrol, and succeeded in shutting up the Bavarian General Deroy in the fort of Kuffstein, after abandoning Innspruck to Reimer. The Vorarlberg was again in arms. But a more serious insurrection broke out in Westphalia, where the Duke of Brunswick-Oels, Dornberg, and Schill threatened to overturn the new throne of Jerome Bonaparte, and very nearly succeeded in making the Prince a prisoner. The ordinary fate of the leaders of such enterprises fell early upon the disjointed plan of these independent corps, and compromised prematurely, they were successively separated and pursued. Dornberg and Schill paid for their exertions in their country's cause with the loss of their lives, and Brunswick, with his death's-head legion, sought refuge in Bohemia, and eventually in England.

Napoleon was a good deal disturbed by some preparations of the Austrian authorities at Presburg, which led him to apprehend a demonstration from thence upon Vienna, which was not more than six leagues distant. The garrison, to which the division of Bianchi had been lately added, was under the command of Baron Wimpfen, and were reported to be throwing up works near the village of Engereau. Davoust was accordingly ordered to proceed thither, and the village was carried by the division Gudin, and the bridge in part secured, when the Marshal opened fire upon Presburg itself, which had the immediate effect of bringing out a white flag, and a request that the Emperor might be petitioned to spare this beautiful city from bombardment; to which, upon an understanding that the works should be at once discontinued, he acceded, and the French immediately threw up a line of circumvallation, extending from the castle of Kittsee to the islet of the Schutt or Stadtane, which precluded any passage across the Danube by the Austrians at this point.

Napoleon had reorganised his army in the most beautiful order, so as to enable it to be carried forward in a combined advance on the Austrian position. A general order was issued on the 1st of July, that all should be prepared to march at the shortest notice. The sick, at the same time, were sent back into hospital, and biscuit was ordered to be baked in sufficient quantity so as to have a week's consumption always in hand. The ammunition tumbrils had all been sent to the great park, where they had been repaired and fully replenished, and the greatest attention had been paid to the artillery horses and the condition of their harness. The Emperor did not

pass a day without riding over from Schönbrunn to the island, when a review of some corps or other of his army, or a close inspection of the civil departments, to see that his orders had been fully complied with, was the business of the day. The corps-d'armée who were now stationed in the island were so echeloned as to enable them to be brought into line on any side that might be required. Prince Eugène, Davoust, Macdonald, Marmont, and Broussier were all placed within three days' march of Vienna. General Lasalle and Montbrun scoured the whole country around with cavalry scouts and patroles, but had orders to be never beyond forty-eight hours' call, while a brigade of about 1,500 less efficient horse were in second line ready to take up their duty. In this manner a general surveillance of all the country surrounding Vienna existed on the most approved system of outposts. Bernadotte, with the corps of Saxons and the division Dupas, were already on the right bank of the Danube prepared to cross to the main army at a moment's notice. The Würtembergers under Vandamme watched the left bank, and the Bavarians under Wrede; and the Baden troops, and those of the Confederation, under General Rouger, watched the right bank of the upper river.

The month of June had passed amidst all these preparations, and the moment of action was now at hand. The bridge which Bertrand had constructed to tie the island to the main land, now formed upon better and surer principles, was composed of boats and piles, and was 240 toises in length. The old broken bridge, which had been the cause of so much anxiety, remained in reserve, for the lighter service of daily communication, while the new bridge was kept clear for the passage of the guns and troops. In the arsenal of Vienna was found the huge iron chain which had belonged to the Turks in the famous siege of 1682. This was brought down and stretched across the river in order to stop every object which the enemy might again endeavour to float down the stream, and a great salient of piles was constructed above bridge to turn these aside from the structure, and throw them upon the shore on either hand.

Other works of magnitude had been carried on by the aid of Vienna labourers, who, having been thrown out of work by the absence of the wealthy classes from the capital, and the stagnation of all trade and commerce during the military occupation of the city and suburbs, were quite ready for employment as the means of existence to their families and themselves. These constructed great chaussées for the passage of wheels at all seasons through the marshy portion of the island (a work not altogether unlike the famous Balaklava railroad in 1854), and the passage of the many water gullies were rendered practicable and easy. Epaulements were also thrown up to facilitate a retreat, if necessary, in face of the enemy, and to protect the bridges from any sudden inroad and assault. Dépôts of powder had been constructed in Vienna, and expense-magazines of ammunition were formed in the island for immediate use; likewise large herds of sheep and oxen, an immense amount of flour, and loads of the best corn that the country could provide, whether in straw or grain, were collected by the commis-

saries; and yet further to facilitate at once the transport of these supplies night and day, and to provide for the efficient police of the rear of the army, all the great communications from Ebersdorf across the island were lighted with lanterns placed upon high poles with pulleys, like the old mode of lighting the streets of Paris.

The great point of difficulty in contemplating offensive operations was the passage of the narrow current of the river in front of the *rentrant* near Aspern and Essling. The Austrians had fortified the former *debouté* with the utmost industry, a line of entrenchments bristling with guns barred it; nevertheless every endeavour was made to induce the enemy to believe that the French would cross at the same spot from which they had advanced on the 12th of May. The ground had been, however, reconnoitred over and over again, and was now carefully re-examined. It was resolved to throw over the streams a great many bridges, by which a considerable force could be put across to the left bank of the Danube, which should all together advance upon the left flank of the enemy's line at Enzersdorf (which village lay very considerably to the French right of the village of Essling), and for this purpose a collection of punts, each of which was capable of holding 300 men, having platforms which, when raised, would shelter the men from the fire of musketry, and when lowered would assist their debarkation, were brought into the smaller channel of the river and moored alongside the island bank. The spots where these were to lie were pointed out to the officers of the staff, and men were expressly told off to the duty of getting the punts across, so that it was thought, in a couple of hours, several thousand men might be securely put across, sufficient to overcome the first offensive operation of the enemy, and to cover the bridges, which were all placed ready to be thrown over in an instant for the passage at once of the three *corps-d'armées* of Marshals Massena, Davoust, and Oudinot (who had succeeded to the command of that of Lannes). Napoleon, who from the first days of the occupation of the island, had replaced his head-quarters at Schönbrunn, now again quitted that palace on the 2nd of July, and removed thence to the village of Ebersdorf. The troops being forthwith put in motion began to defile over the bridge into the island on the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, on which days there was assembled in Lob-Awe a force of 150,000 men and 550 guns. On the evening of the 4th an Austrian officer, Monsieur Wolf, the brother of Madame de Kaunitz, came in with a flag of truce from the Archduke Generalissimo, and was immediately carried to the Imperial head-quarters. Upon removing the bandage from his eyes, Napoleon told him he knew well the object of his visit, which was to see the state of the preparations; that it would be bad for the Archduke if he did not readily understand that he was prepared to cross over and attack him the next morning; and that, as he could not allow him to return to the Austrian camp, he should be escorted to the house of his sister, who was domiciled in Vienna.

*The Austrian army at this date occupied their ground thus:—General Klenau with the 6th corps, Kollowrath with the 2nd,*

Hohenzollern with the 3rd, and Rosenberg with the 4th, occupied Aspern, Essling, Enzersdorf, and Wittau, having strong redoubts armed with guns along the whole of their front. The greater portion of the Austrian Imperial cavalry was at Raschdorf, where the Archduke Charles had his head-quarters with the grenadiers. Bellegarde with the 1st corps formed the reserve, and occupied Breitenlee. It was not till the 3rd of July that orders had been expedited to the Archduke John to bring his force into line, and accordingly it was not to be counted in the efficient field force. The assembled army, therefore (not counting that of Italy), consisted of 185 battalions and 164 squadrons, or 130,000 men, and about 400 guns. The Generalissimo had not employed the same industry and intelligence as his great antagonist in improving the position in which he had been so happily left by the result of the battle of Essling, either by calling up all his strength or by exhausting all the means of art to protect himself in the approaching struggle. How Napoleon proposed to move, or in what way he could advance against him, does not appear to have ever been the subject of the Archduke's meditation or study; nor does it seem to have entered his mind that, finding the old field of battle too narrow and almost unassailable, he would endeavour to débouch from his insular camp between Enzersdorf and the confluents of the many small branches with the main branch of the river which were situated below that village, and, accordingly, His Imperial Highness had neither thrown up redoubts on this ground nor even detached any division of his troops to watch and defend it. In fact, the Austrian tactics do not seem to have been arranged for an opposition to the passage of the Danube, but to have been directed to a subsequent grand trial of strength on the Marchfeld, about two leagues more to the rear, where a steep bank behind the Russbach formed a natural position, extending from the village of Wagram to that of Neusiedel. This post was connected with another range of heights running in a semicircle behind Gerardsdorf and Stammersdorf to the Danube.

#### 28. NAPOLEON QUILTS THE ISLAND.

As the moment approached to resume the offensive, Napoleon disturbed himself with the thought that the Archduke would not, after all, fight. He thought it at length so probable that the Austrian army would shift its ground and remove the seat of war into Hungary, that he resolved to make a feint upon the old passage of the *rentant*, impregnable as it might now be supposed to be, in order to see if the Austrians would be steadfast in its defence. Accordingly, the voltigeurs of the division Legrand, led on by Sainte Croix, a man of marked bravery, and an aide-de-camp of Massena, succeeded in crossing the stream on a bridge of boats collected by Captain Baillot, and in the middle of the night of the 2nd July passed over to the opposite bank, where they drew a heavy cannonade upon themselves and obtained a few prisoners, with whom they got back again to the island with safety before daybreak. This adventure

satisfied the Emperor that the Archduke was sincere in his opposition, and was resolved to fight.

At the decline of day on the 4th, Massena, Davoust, and Oudinot mounted their horses and rode to the river bank, opposite Enzersdorf, where Colonel Baste, in charge of the division of seamen, was already prepared with his flotilla. At 9 o'clock the passage of the stream was effected by 1,500 voltigeurs, under General Couroux. The night was pitch dark and foretold a storm, that rendered it the more favourable for the purpose. The rest of the division of General Tharreau followed in order, and were soon engaged with the outlying pickets of General Nordmann's advance guard, who held the village and watched the river-arm in its vicinity. After about a quarter of an hour's contest, Oudinot's corps possessed themselves of a redoubt called the White house, and established themselves in the village of Muhleutel, while the first bridge was being placed by Captain Larne. At 11 o'clock, Marshal Massena, whose orders were to await the passage by Oudinot, crossed over to the left bank and took possession of the ground in his front, for as yet the Austrians had not brought down any great force to oppose them. In an incredibly short space of time a bridge of pontoons for the passage of the infantry, a bridge of rafts for the artillery, and one of the swing bridges above-named, were firmly fixed from the island to the mainland, and Davoust also got over with a great part of the cavalry and artillery. Napoleon immediately ordered the mortars to open fire upon the village of Enzersdorf, which were warmly responded to by the Austrian artillery, amidst the roar of the elements, which now burst forth in terrific fury. The flames soon seized the village, and a fearful scene revealed itself before the early twilight of the 5th broke forth. A bright day, however, succeeded the most frightful storm, and at 5 in the morning the sun shone forth serene and gladdened the army formed up upon the plain. Massena was on the left, Bernadotte and Oudinot in the centre, and Davoust on the right; and soon afterwards the *corps-d'armée* of the Viceroy, followed by that of Marmont and the Imperial Guard, established themselves in second line, while the whole of the cavalry, composed of four divisions of light horse, three of dragoons, three of cuirassiers, four regiments of the Guards, and Germans of all varieties, formed one grand third line in reserve. The Emperor, who had witnessed the commencement of the operations during the force of the storm, had lain down for snatches of repose three or four times during the formation of this *corps-de-bataille*, which occupied a great deal of the day, so that it was about 5 o'clock in the afternoon when he mounted his horse and rode along the entire army. The enthusiasm with which he was received can scarcely be described, but can be well imagined.

Late as it was in the day the Emperor resolved on an immediate attack, and ordered the army to make an entire change in the line *right in front*, so as to bring the brunt of his force to bear upon the villages of Enzersdorf and Essling. This manœuvre occupied time, so that it was nearly 7 o'clock before it was accomplished,

in which interval possession was taken of Enzersdorf, still smoking in its ruins. The Archduke, leaving his main force behind the Aussbach, brought forward all his cavalry, with a numerous artillery, and advanced towards Ruhzendorf to threaten the left flank of the French army. As the plain opened, however, Napoleon brought up his second line, which soon outflanked this attempt, and the whole French army moved forward, so that by nightfall Massena with the right was between Breitenlee and the Danube, Bernadotte opposite Aderklaa, Prince Eugène between Wagram and Baumersdorf, Oudinot at Grosshoffen, and Davoust at Glinzendorf. The cavalry of Grouchy and Peilly were near Lorbersdorf, whence Montbrun pushed across the stream towards Siebenbrun, and came into collision with Nordmann's Austrian hussars. Napoleon came up to the troops as they were thus brought to the very banks of the Russbach, and, though it was late, yet he thought that he could fight with advantage by attacking the Generalissimo before the Archduke John came into line. Powerful batteries were accordingly brought up, which opened a heavy fire, under which Bernadotte, Eugène, Oudinot, and Davoust engaged. Eugène in the centre fell on the village of Baumersdorf, which was stoutly defended by General Hardegg; Oudinot, on the Prince's flank, could not force the bridge beyond the village through the obstinacy of the resistance; but Macdonald, Paethod, and Lamarque, belonging to the Viceroy's corps, held their ground, though staggered by a murderous discharge from sixty Austrian guns, until Bernadotte's Saxons, on the left, mistaking them for enemies, fired on them; just as the Austrian regiments of Zach, Vogelsung, and Erlach advanced against the French line, so that the three divisions turned and fled to Rochdorf. Some prisoners which had been taken by them escaped, and two of the French eagles were captured. The confusion was extreme, and, had the Austrian Generalissimo been enterprising, he might possibly have made a hole in the Emperor's line which he would have had difficulty to patch up; but at 11 o'clock the Austrians sounded a retreat, and the two armies bivouacked almost touching each other, and lay down to rest dreadfully fatigued on both sides. Napoleon reposed in the midst of his troops, and here all his marshals and generals rallied around him for orders. Massena, who had had a fall from his horse, was obliged to come in a calèche, but would not consent to any supercession in his command. The night was exceedingly cold, and there was a difficulty even in lighting a fire. At last, one was made in order to distinguish head-quarters, but Napoleon could not lie down to sleep, for his mind was too intensely on the stretch, and he was again on horseback before the day broke on the 6th of July.

#### 29. BATTLE OF WAGRAM.

The Emperor Francis was standing on a height with the Generalissimo when the French troops, swarming over the Danube, began to debouch upon the Marchfeld. On his asking his brother why he permitted the passage of the river unopposed, the Archduke re-

plied that he allowed them to pass in order to throw them back into the river. "So," said the Emperor; "*aber man muss nicht zu viel Leute passen lassen.*" A most just and sensible remark, it would seem, but the plan thus shadowed out had been determined upon in the Archduke's mind at the last moment, and had been the result of considerable study of the ground, after the determination of the French to attempt to cross out of the island had been recognised. He considered it preferable, under the circumstances, to oppose the enemy in the sort of entrenched camp which he had determined to occupy behind the Russbach, between Wagram and Neusiedel. He thought that while the enemy were breaking their heads against this obstacle he could assume the offensive by throwing his right forward to cut them off from the Danube, and he calculated that while he thus attacked the French on their left flank, the Archduke John would arrive on the field from Presburg on the other side, and throw the whole French army upon their bridges. John was understood to have arrived at Marschek, 13 miles distant, and therefore might be expected to arrive on the ground at 1 o'clock. Now, then, that both armies were in sleep, the Generalissimo called his staff around him in a small ruined house at Wagram, and dictated the orders he had prepared for his generals, which were to take effect before morning broke. Klenau and Kollowrath were bivouacked on the right, on the fir-clad slopes of the Risamberg, and were to march at 1 or 2 in the morning to attack Massena, and to drive him back through Kazern upon Aspern, and through Sussenbrum upon Breitenlee. As soon as these had made good their advance, Lichtenstein with the grenadiers and cavalry was to move up to Gerardtsdorf; when Bellegarde was to descend from the plateau above Wagram, followed at distinct intervals by Hohenzollern and Rosenberg, through Baumersdorf and Neusiedel to Glinzendorf, which Marshal Davoust now occupied. The head-quarters being at Wagram permitted the orders to the troops of the left wing to be earlier delivered than those of the right, and in the sharp conflict of the preceding night some of the divisions had got shifted out of their place in the line, and were not immediately found; so that the staff officers made some mistakes. Moreover, the division of the Prince of Reuss, which lay on the extreme left beyond Stamenersdorf, appears to have been altogether overlooked and forgotten in the orders sent; and, accordingly, were left many hours without receiving any. It is impossible to prevent much confusion and many errors in the transmission of orders to an extensive army on the eve of a battle, and so experienced a soldier as the Archduke Charles must have known that a complicated plan of attack, depending on great nicety of execution, was scarcely possible at the last moment. The whole night, and that a very short one, was however passed in the transmission of these orders, and in getting the troops together for the early march, all which was very much calculated to harass the men before they were called on for action. In consequence of these oversights, the corps of Count Rosenberg, which should have been the last to

move, were the first, and began to be in motion at 4 o'clock, and came under fire from the opposing divisions of Marshal Davoust's corps at Glinzendorf. Napoleon, who had in the night determined to amass a considerable force about Rechdorf to be prepared for all contingencies, no sooner heard the noise of this attack than he sent orders to his left to make an aggressive movement, while he galloped to his right with the guns attached to Nansouty's cavalry and the cuirassiers of the Duke de Padua, and carried them with him to lend assistance to Marshal Davoust. The Austrians, however, had already driven back the infantry of Paethod into Greshofen, and the division Gudin was coming up in support, when Napoleon arrived and launched the cavalry under a heavy fire upon the Austrian column which was making the attack, and they were driven hastily back across the Russbach. The Archduke, learning the mistake of Rosenberg's movement, also came up in person and assisted in getting the division back to its former position on the plateau, by ordering Bellegarde with his guns to play upon the troops of Davoust, which prevented their crossing the brook.

At about 7 o'clock Klenau and Kollowrath came into action on the other flank, and the brigade of Stuttenheim took possession of Aderklaa, while the whole Austrian wing deployed between that village and Süssenbrunn, and now advanced in two lines with 60 guns in front, in the direction assigned to them. The division Boudet, however, was driven before them like chaff before the wind into Aspern, with the loss of all their guns, and the French reserve park and baggage were seized with a panic, and fled to the bridges, exclaiming "All is lost!" The effect of this advance of the Austrians was also to force the division Carra-St.-Cyr out of Aderklaa, whence also Bernadotte had been obliged to withdraw with the Saxon corps before Bellegarde's advance, and now united them to the Italian army of the Viceroy in front of Rochdorf.

The Emperor saw that it was necessary to strengthen the important post of Aderklaa, and ordered Eugène to make a change of front to the left, while the cavalry of the Guards of Nansouty with 100 guns, under Generals Lauriston and Drouet, covered the formation of columns of attack, which he proposed to make at the proper time, under Generals Macdonald, Serras, and Wrede. The noise at this moment, of large and small guns was stunning, for the effect of the Generalissimo's order of battle was being effectively tried as well as that of Napoleon; but the Archduke John came not, and the Austrian plan of attack was in consequence paralysed. Napoleon, when he was in the early morning with Davoust, had observed that the plateau at the point of Neuseidel fell back almost to a right angle, and that the ground thereabouts softened down into a regular glacis, affording considerable facilities for assault, and especially for the action of the cavalry. These under Grouchy, Montbrun, and the Duke of Modena, were therefore sent forward to Siebenbrunn to sweep the Austrian left, while he ordered a vigilant eye to be kept in the direction of Presburg; the division Morand, however, crossed the brook, and the Prince Rosenberg

immediately launched against the French advance the regiments of Kerpen and Teutscheneister, covered by a portion of his cavalry, and drove back the French advance upon the division of Friant, who, assisted by the cavalry of Montbrun and Grouchy, now remounted the ascent, while the division Paethod contested with the Prince of Hesse-Homburg the possession of the village of Neuseidel. Here stands a remarkable old castle, which is a distinguished object over all the plain, and still seems to mark the field of battle. It was at this moment held and defended by the Austrians, and became an object of considerable importance in the battle. After a severe conflict, in which Generals Nordmann and Veezoy were killed, the Austrians gave way. The corps of Hohenzollern came up in aid of that of Rosenberg, but the town was taken, the village was abandoned, and the entire plateau was carried by Davoust's corps, which thus completely turned the left of the Archduke's position.

It was not later than 9 o'clock in the morning when Napoleon, having set in motion this operation on his right, galloped off with his staff to see after the state of affairs at his centre, and left, from which staff officers had brought sinister intelligence both from Bernadotte and Massena. As he came up to Aderklaa he was just in time to witness the Austrian Grenadiers, led forward by the Archduke in person, carry the village in spite of the brave opposition of the division Carra-St.-Cyr. Here he met Massena in his calèche, and, dismounting from his horse, the Emperor entered the little carriage, and remained in eager conversation with the Marshal for some minutes. He then remounted his horse (a beautiful white charger called Euphrates, that had been given to him by the Schah of Persia) and repaired to the Prince of Ponte Corvo, whom he found in a disagreeable state of depression. He then went forward and stood in a conspicuous part of the field, amid a storm of fire and bullets, from which it would seem he could scarcely have escaped, where he patiently awaited the effect of the operations of Marshal Davoust. Reports soon came in to him that the Austrians on his left flank had passed Aspern, had driven back Boudet, and were already upon the old fighting-ground between that village and Essling. The Emperor, however, heard in silence, and did not allow a single word of remark to pass his lips. Again news was announced that the enemy was threatening the tête de pont of the island of Lob Awe, in his rear, but still there was neither gesture nor word. He was apprised that the firing, the sound of which now came up from the island, was directed against the advancing enemy; but, instead of paying attention to any one of these reports, Napoleon kept his eyes fixed on the white tower of the village of Neuseidel, anxiously noting and listening to the remarks of those around him, whether they thought the line of fire had passed to the left of that village. As soon, however, as his own trusted eye-glass had satisfied him of this result, he exclaimed, "La bataille est gagnée, allez porter la nouvelle au Maréchal Massena." Orders were instantly sent to all the troops to advance in the order which had been prescribed: the Viceroy and Bernadotte were to combine

in the attack on Aderklaa, while Oudinot should advance through Baumersdorf to attack the corps of Hohenzollern on the plateau behind it. As the Emperor gave his orders to Bessières a ball struck the Marshal on the leg, and threw him to the ground, and Napoleon thought he was killed. The corps of Klenau and Kollowrath soon gave way before the energy of the united advance of Davoust and Oudinot, and the French cannon, under Drouet, told with fearful effect on the Austrian retreating columns, while the 100 guns of Lauriston crushed the battalions of Bellegarde. Sussenbrunn, where the Archduke commanded in person, was soon in possession of the French under Macdonald, and Deutsch Wagram was relinquished by the Austrians. Napoleon therefore ordered Macdonald to lead forward the divisions Broussier and Serras with the bayonets, while he directed the Cuirassiers of Nansouty, and eight battalions of the Imperial Guard, to support the movement. The Austrian cavalry of Lichtenstein dashed upon them as they went forward; but nothing could check Macdonald, whose noble bearing was visible to all, as he gallantly led the van in person, overthrowing everything which came up to oppose him. The Emperor was enthusiastic at this glorious sight, frequently exclaiming to himself, as he regarded Macdonald, in the mêlée, "Quel brave homme! quel brave homme!" It was about 3 o'clock, when Klenau was driven out of Jeddersdorf, Kollowrath from Gerardsdorf, and Bellegarde out of Helmhof. The Archduke poured his round shot and grape into the crowded mass of Massena as he came up to the assistance of Macdonald, for he saw that the contest must be now determined at the village of Aderklaa, which was the hinge or shoulder-joint of the position, in which angle the Archduke had hoped, as with a lever, to hold the enemy in his embrace, but which now his adversary strove to employ in crushing himself. The noise of the conflict shook the very ground, but still the French column moved steadily forward, led on by the resolute Scotchman. The loss of men now became enormous—whole files were successively struck down. In the midst of this frightful storm of bullets, the eighth battalions were soon reduced to 1,500 rank and file, and, at length, were obliged to come to a standstill from their reduced condition. The Emperor, however, was at hand, and forthwith ordered the divisions Pacthod and Durutte to take their place, and brought up the young Guard under Reille in support. As they passed him Napoleon said, "I have now no other reserve left but your colleagues of the old Guard. No sabring—Give point and forward." Macdonald, in the midst of the mêlée, saw that fresh supports were coming to his aid, and dashed forward again, while the terrible battery behind him poured upon the enemy an unceasing shower. Nansouty was ordered to take advantage of the disorder into which the Austrian columns were thrown and to charge, in which the French army lost General Lasalle, a cavalry officer of great distinction. The Archduke was in the midst of the danger, encouraging his men, but just at this same moment he learned of the loss of the right flank of his position, by the capture of the town of Neusiedel.

His hopes for the arrival of the Archduke John had not yet been realised, but, although his troops were still unbroken, his order of battle had become too disjointed for him to wait any longer for this assistance, and he accordingly ordered his army to retreat, Hohenzollern and Rosenberg upon Wolkendorf, and Kollowrath and Klenau upon Kornenburg; Hohenzollern, however, still held Deutsch Wagram against Oudinot's attack. It was some time before the Emperor became aware that the Austrians were in retreat, for Klenau also resisted the attacks of Massena, throwing his infantry into squares, and checking all advance on Sauring, while Bellegarde, in like manner, kept at bay the conquering battalions of Macdonald and Bernadotte. Napoleon at length saw that the enemy was really falling back on Wolkendorf, and overtaking his own advance near Ebersdorf, he thus accosted Macdonald: "Touchez-là, Macdonald, sans rancune, d'aujourd'hui nous serons amis, et je vous enverrai pour gage votre bâton de maréchal que vous avez si glorieulement gagné." Macdonald, seizing the proffered hand of his sovereign, kissed it and said, "Ah! Sire, désormais entre nous, c'est à la vie et à la mort."\* Oudinot and Marmot were also nominated to the dignity of Marshal for their conduct at the battle of Wagram.

The Archduke John arrived at about 4 o'clock at Leopoldsdorf, but, learning the fate of the day, he hastened back, and reached Marchek at night, where he rested. His Imperial Highness had received his orders on the morning of the 5th to come up with all haste to join the Generalissimo, and he had had time enough to do so. Had he possessed eagerness for fight and the energies that distinguish the true warrior, he might have brought up 12,000 men to the aid of his illustrious brother, which, under the able arrangements for the battle which, the Archduke Charles had made, must have produced a very different result; but John stopped to sleep on the road, when, like Bonaparte at Rivoli, he should have deferred all repose till the next day. A worse motive has indeed been ascribed to His Imperial Highness by some historians.

The loss of the two armies in this bloody battle is said to have been nearly equal, and that about 24,000 were killed, wounded, and prisoners on the two sides. The Austrians had 4 generals killed and 12 wounded, including the Archduke Charles himself. The French had 3 generals killed and 21 wounded, including in the last category Marshal Bessières, whose wound did not, however, prove serious. There were few, if any, trophies of the day, for the Austrian army remained still unbroken, and retired from the field in perfect order, with all their artillery. Napoleon, who had not slept a wink for 24 hours, and had been kept awake for the greater part of the two nights previous oppressed with care and thought, now laid himself down, completely exhausted, amidst his

\* It may gratify Highland pride to learn that, of all the Marshals of the empire, Macdonald was as true and faithful as he was brave, and that as he was the last to desert his master, so he did not break faith by returning to his standard in the 100 days.

guards, near Aderklaa, when suddenly cries of alarm came up from the rear. The drums beat, the infantry formed square, and Napoleon rousing himself and mounting his horse, rode forth to inquire into the cause, when Lebrun, Duke of Placentia, one of his aides-de-camp, came up to him and said, "Ce n'est rien, Sire. Ce sont seulement quelques marauders." "Qu'appelez vous rien?" said the Emperor. "Sachez, jeune homme, qu'il n'est point de petits événements à la guerre : rien ne compromet une armée comme une imprudente sécurité. Retournez voir ce que cela peut-être, et m'en rendez mieux compte." It turned out to be a surprise made by an out-lying squadron of Prince John's army, which, however, only cut down some French vivandières and sutlers. The Emperor, however, was too astute and experienced not to order immediate precautions to be adopted against a recurrence of such alarms, resolved to be fully prepared for a nocturnal combat if it should arise, and it was not until assured that the cause had been fully discovered and rectified that he again lay down to rest.

But long rest was strange to his nature. Soon after break of day he was seen before his tent, walking to and fro without hat or sword, and with his hands behind his back, according to his habit. He was then waited upon by many superior officers, with whom he talked gaily and familiarly of the events of the battle. Nevertheless, the morning relation of this great battle was tame in comparison with those of his former victories. Had Murat and Ney been with the eagles, doubtless they would have been already on the enemy's traces, spreading alarm and gathering up a harvest of trophies ; but as yet the army was not even in its formation. There can be no doubt that Napoleon himself felt deeply oppressed in his spirit by the events of the battle. He had saved himself by his wonderful energy of character from a fearful danger. Ever since the battle of Essling his fame had rested upon a thread. His whole mind had been for weeks in extreme tension, and now it suddenly collapsed. He mounted his horse and rode over the field according to his custom, but he issued no stirring proclamation, nor gave utterance to those epigrammatic sentences to which he was formerly so prone. The corn was in many places so high that he could not see the wounded men, who raised themselves to excite his attention ; when, with his wonted kindness on such occasions, he went up and talked apart with the private soldiers over the events of the battle, while he took care that the ambulances were early put in motion, so that assistance might be quickly rendered to all. He then rode forward to Wolkendorf, which had been the head-quarters of the Emperor Francis in the battle, and there he ordered his own to be now established. He was at a loss to understand what, under the circumstances, would be the movements of his enemy, either military or politically. He interrogated his outposts, to ascertain the real direction of the Austrian retreat, and after some hesitation satisfied himself that it was upon Znaim, on the road into Moravia ; but there was another road branching out of that, which might also be adopted for the retreat, that led to Hungary by Nikolsburg. He

therefore directed Montbrun's cavalry to take up the pursuit by the latter road, and as Marmont's corps had had the least share in the battle of the 6th, and was the least fatigued, they were sent forward with the Bavarians, under Wrede, to pursue whatever might appear to be the principal line of the Archduke's retreat. Massena was ordered to rally his corps and march by Kornendorf and Stockerou towards Bohemia, and Bruyère (who had succeeded to Lasalle's command) was directed to scour all that line of country with the light cavalry of General Saint Sulpice. On the 8th Davoust was ordered to follow Marmont, on the road to Nikolsburg, while Bernadotte with the Saxons was sent in pursuit of the Archduke John, and Macdonald was ordered, after giving his troops ample repose, to follow Massena, and the Viceroy to remain and take charge of the capital, and to put in order the vast place d'armes of the Isle of Lob-awe, which was in glorious confusion after so arduous a conflict. Napoleon himself remained at Wolkensdorf till the 9th to receive reports from the different columns regarding the movements of the enemy. It turned out that the Archduke had taken the road to Prague, marching with the corps of Bellegarde, Kolowrath, and Klenau, and confiding the rear guard to Prince Reuss, who, owing to an oversight, had been left idle the whole day of the battle, as above related. The corps of Rosenberg and Hohenzollern marched by the other road to Nikolsburg. On the one road marched 60,000 men, and on the other about 25,000. The Emperor Francis, the Empress, and the Court, with a train of 200 carriages, took the shortest and direct road between the two columns to Znaim. The French army sent in pursuit numbered about 45,000 men.

While Napoleon remained at Wolkersdorf somewhat indisposed after all his fatigues, Bernadotte presented himself at his headquarters, and demanded an audience. General Savary, who had been desired by the Emperor to prevent his being disturbed, refused him admittance. The Prince of Ponte Corvo had long chafed at the insignificant command which had been assigned him in this campaign, and had been in constant correspondence with Berthier, complaining that he could do nothing with his Saxon soldiers unless supported by some French divisions; but, as soon as the battle had terminated, he had issued an order of the day from his bivouac at Leopoldau, addressed to the Saxons, in which he ascribed to them a principal part in the successes of the 5th and 6th of July. Napoleon was furious at this flagrant insubordination. That one of his marshals should presume to take on himself to distribute praises while he was himself present in command of the army, and should assert without his concurrence statements which, moreover, could be denied, that other corps d'armée should be by implication pronounced inferior to the corps of Bernadotte, and that a pretence should thus be put forward that the battle of Wagram was won by soldiers other than native troops of France, made him most exceedingly angry; but he felt he must not repair the mischief by wounding the self-love of the Saxons, who had done their duty, and, therefore, while he refused to see the Marshal, he drew up

statement of facts which he directed should be addressed, under confidence, to those marshals only who were with the army, and to the King of Westphalia, to whom Berthier was ordered to express strongly the Emperor's grave displeasure at this act of the Prince Marshal. At the same time, however, that he vented this displeasure against one of his oldest comrades, the great conqueror distributed with a lavish hand honours and decorations to his companions in arms of all ranks. On the 5th of October Berthier was constituted Prince of Wagram; Davoust, Prince of Eckmühl; and Massena, Prince of Essling. Lower grades of nobility were at the same time given to his Generals, and the ribbon of the Legion of Honour gratified thousands.

Marmont was the first to come up with the enemy in his retreat. On the 9th he overtook half way to Laas, on the Taya, the rear-guard of Rosenberg, whom he unhesitatingly attacked, and while yet in action the Emperor himself came up to the head of his column. A cannonade ensued, under which a flag of truce presented itself at the outpost by the hands of M. de Fresnel, a French gentleman in the service of Austria, proposing a cessation of arms. This was followed on the 10th by the arrival of Prince John of Lichtenstein, to offer the terms of an armistice with a view to negotiations for peace. Napoleon forthwith summoned Berthier, Maret, and Duroc to a cabinet council to consider the proposition. He could not conceal his satisfaction from them that it had been received, for he was tired of the war, and after such a victory he knew that he was in the best possible condition to treat with Austria; but he had great misgivings of the Emperor of Russia and of the general feeling of the German people, and thereupon he speedily stopped all discussion amongst his councillors by saying, "Il y assez de sang versé—j'accepte l'armistice." He soon came back to the Prince, and replied, that he would leave to the Prince of Neufchâtel and Baron de Wimpfen to stipulate the conditions, and fix the demarcation of the two armies, but would order his troops to discontinue hostilities forthwith. The armistice was signed on the 11th of July, and is called the armistice of Znaim. He immediately sent off orders to the same effect to Massena, who was at the moment in hot action with the enemy between Schellersdorf and Znaim, and so bitterly was the contest raging between the combatants that Colonel Marbot and General d'Aspré were both slightly wounded as they rode down on each side exclaiming, "Paix ! paix ! ne tirez plus." Napoleon now again took up his head-quarters at Schönbrunn, where he awaited the end of the negotiations for the peace, but the Archduke Charles resented the abrupt termination of the war, and resigned his command and never again resumed it. The Emperor Francis hesitated about accepting the terms dictated by Napoleon, but at length they were agreed to at Komorn on the 18th, the Archduke John being called into council on behalf of the army instead of his more distinguished brother.

## 30. RETIREMENT AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE ARCH-DUKE CHARLES OF AUSTRIA.

Charles Louis of Lorraine, Archduke of Austria, was second brother of the Emperor Francis, and born in 1771. He first entered the career of arms under Prince Coburg, in 1793, when he was not more than 21 years of age; and at Neerwinden and Laubrecies he evinced the daring of a brave soldier, united with the abilities and *coup-d'œil* of a natural-born captain. His high qualities, as well as his exalted birth, aided him in the attainment of many high commands; and already, in 1796, when only 25 years of age, he was appointed successor of Marshal Clairfayt, in the command of the army of the Rhine, and, to give him greater authority, he was at that time named Reichs-Feld-Marshal. Although such early promotion might have been thought the result of mere favour, and, indeed, the Aulic Council seemed to have thought so also, for it deemed it more safe and prudent to surround him with a council of their most trusted veterans, yet the Prince amply justified the preference which had been so happily accorded him, and at once trod the stage with an applause scarcely inferior to that of his rival actor and great contemporary, Napoleon Bonaparte, who made his *début* in the same year, as a young general, in supreme command of an army. The one, however, had the old used-up leaders of the empire to contend against, whereas the Archduke came at once to be pitted against the young successful generals of the school of the French Revolution. His first opponent was the rival and almost the equal of Napoleon, General Moreau, who was, nevertheless, obliged to fly before the Austrian eaglet, and had considerable difficulty in escaping his vigorous swoop. The two great "stars" or *débutants* were brought face to face before in the following year, when Wurmser, Alvinzi, and Provera, having successively succumbed to the young hero of Italy, the Archduke Charles was sought out and sent by the Aulic Council in hot haste to save the Imperial capital, which he barely effected, by agreeing to the preliminaries of Leoben.

When the war again broke out in 1799, the Archduke was intrusted with the command of an army, to oppose a leader of the next highest reputation in the French armies, General Jourdan, whom he defeated at Ostrach and Stockach, while he likewise overcame Massena at Zurich. From causes which have never been satisfactorily explained, the Archduke, though at the very summit of his genius and fame, was wholly laid aside in the campaign of 1800, until Vienna was a second time threatened with hostile occupation, after the disastrous battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden, when, by his address and good judgment, he again succeeded in checking the advance of the conqueror by accepting the armistice of Treviso.

*In the campaign of Austerlitz he was given the separate command of the army of Italy, and, indeed, the conduct of the war, which began so disastrously with the surrender of Mack's army at Ulm, was to have rested mainly on the Archduke's shoulders, and*

would have done so with probably a different result but for this very early discomfiture of the Imperial plan. As it was, the Archduke held his French antagonist long in check, and unquestionably defeated him at the battle of Caldiero; but a change had already come over the spirit of this young and illustrious commander. He had become either weakened in energy, or, perhaps, controlled by some high authority which he could not resist; for a common fault in Austrian strategy—that of sending out detachments too large for quick movement and too small for resolute offence or defence—was visible in his Italian campaign to a degree which he had never manifested before, so that, when following up the victory of Caldiero, a corps of 10,000 or 12,000 men, who had no intelligible duties assigned to them, became needless victims to the more concentrated advance of the enemy, and were sacrificed most recklessly at a moment when every single man was of value to the empire.

But it was in the campaign of 1809 that it became quite clear that the Archduke Charles was no longer a commander of the modern age, but had lapsed into the procrastinating and listless habits of a bygone generation of Austrian commanders. By great prudence he at all times avoided the most dangerous pitfalls, into which his competitors fell; and was neither surrounded, like Mack, nor divided nor circumvented, like other adversaries of Napoleon. He even gained the day against him at Essling and Aspern; but, after that, when he had obliged Napoleon to withdraw into the isle of Lob-awe, he appears to have relapsed into listlessness, and to have left the French army undisturbed there for six weeks, making all needful preparations for a second spring, without moving a finger, and finally permitted it to cross the Danube, and win the battle of Wagram, though indeed he made a noble and bold resistance, and succeeded in withdrawing his army from the field and saving it from annihilation.

There is no doubt that infirmity of some kind had at this period very considerably impaired his energies, for, after Wagram, he never again mounted his horse in the field, and an anecdote is related of the Duke of Wellington which may explain it, when asked who was, in his estimation, the greatest general of the epoch, His Grace replied, "The Archduke Charles, until attacked by fits of epilepsy, which afterwards altogether changed his character and his fortunes." The fact that the Archduke was subject to fits during his military career does not appear to have been generally known, but the severe bodily ailments with which he was afflicted, did doubtless influence, to a great extent, the vigour of his mind, in the arduous conflicts in which he was engaged with his redoubtable adversary; for he was frequently obliged, in consequence of these attacks, to quit the field at a most critical moment, and give over the command to others, who, under such circumstances, were not either able or willing to improvise bold manœuvres.

*Although the Archduke Charles is universally admitted to have been one of the greatest generals of his day, yet this praise is usually*

qualified, even by his German admirers. No one ever questioned his masterly skill as a tactician, and in the art of planning a campaign he has been admitted to stand unrivalled; but he has been thought to have been too slow in action, wanting in enterprise, and, although of great personal bravery and remarkable for self-sacrifice and disregard of responsibility, yet deficient in bold views, and too ready to adopt a passive, under the false impression that it was the safer course. He frequently erred in that first principle of warfare, the end to be attained, which should always be the annihilation of an opponent. He was satisfied merely to drive the enemy out of a strategic position, but not as a means to an end, for he rarely followed up the advantages of a first success, and was content to rest on what he had obtained as success, and not as a mere stepping-stone to future operations. His victories at Wetzlar, Arberg, Ostrach, Stockach, Emmendingen, Schlingen, and Caldiero are speaking illustrations of this defect in his character, and especially the entire campaign of 1809, already noticed. We may, perhaps, except from the above criticism his victory at Wurzburg, from which very brilliant results were certainly obtained by a vigorous and energetic pursuit. The Archduke was probably as much the opposite of the great Emperor in tactics as any man of his time. What Bonaparte gained by incessant action, the Archduke often effected by his slow, but more sure plan of operations. Where the Corsican was rash and placed all on the hazard of the die, the German succeeded by leaving nothing to chance, and preventing disaster by the husbanding of his means, and securing good reserves in support or in a safe retreat. His delivery of Germany in 1796 was achieved by strategic abilities quite equal to those which gave Bonaparte the possession of Italy. His able retreat through the Alps in 1797 saved Vienna, and, in 1799, he almost achieved the subversion of the French Republic; yet he now idled away his time at Schaffhausen and Zurich, as he had done at Ratisbon, Budweiss, and before Wagram. The Archduke in the whole of his career was subject to a bondage from which his rival was exempt. Napoleon had no council to thwart his measures, and was, in this respect, in happy contrast to the great Marlborough and his Dutch deputies. It is strange that people exist who will only place such half confidence in the man to whom they intrust considerable armies, and appoint men of inferior ability, far removed from the scene of action, to interfere with an absolute control, and mar the best planned enterprises. In one most important particular the Archduke was far superior to Napoleon. Charles never experienced any great disaster; and, if not always victorious, it cannot be said he was ever quite defeated.

The Archduke's judgment was honest, sound, and clear; and Napoleon said of him, "that he was a man whose conduct was irreproachable." Moreover, he was in everything the dignified gentleman; "his soul belonged to the heroic age, and his heart to that of gold." He united the courtesy of the chivalrous Goth to the manly, patriotic bearing of the ancient Roman; and he was

deemed by general opinion to be the public man of his day who approached nearest to the standard of an ideal perfection. As a military writer, the Archduke Charles deserves a place in the very first rank. His works have been translated into French by Jomini and others, which is alone a proof of their high estimation ; and Napoleon is said by Marmont to have applied this laconic remark, when recommending them as an indispensable study for an officer, "Lisez les ; relisez les." The Archduke Charles acted as proxy for Napoleon at the marriage of the Archduchess Maria Louisa, but afterwards retired to his estates, and was lost to usefulness, and almost to the memory of the public, in the interval that thence ensued to his death, in 1843.

### 31. WAR IN SCANDINAVIA—CHANGE OF DYNASTY IN SWEDEN.

A revolution occurred in the early part of this year in Sweden, which added yet another to the many extraordinary examples of the instability of human greatness and the insecurity of thrones which have distinguished this age. King Gustavus IV. had shown extraordinary pertinacity in bringing upon the country the enmity of the whole French confederacy, while Russia was, for objects of her own, and, despite all opposition from the Swedish army, carrying invasion into the very heart of the land. The violent and arbitrary conduct of the monarch was little calculated to conciliate the affections of his subjects, or soothe their wounded nationality, under continual reverses ; nor had they forgotten that they had been once a free people ; so that the warmth of their patriotism, under the apprehension of the ruin of their state, produced a general opinion among their most influential statesmen that a change of dynasty had become indispensable. It soon became publicly known that, undeterred by the loss of Pomerania and Finland, Gustavus still resolved to renew the war in the spring, and the Swedes justly apprehended the entire subjugation of their country, and the ruin of their independence. In this emergency, they cast about for some foreign power strong enough to uphold their country against the united forces of France and Russia, and, in such circumstances, naturally thought of Great Britain. They therefore sent a deputation to offer secretly their throne to the Duke of Gloucester, the nephew of King George III. ; but the British Government declined to embroil themselves in the disputes of a country with which they had no ties of interest, family or kindred. The Swedes, in such a contingency, then appealed to Napoleon, who equally declined to mix himself up with their disputes. The Swedish malcontents, therefore, were forced to trust to their own resources, and in the course they adopted, they acted as became patriots. They ordered, early in March, the army on the Norwegian frontier, under Colonel Alderspaare, to march upon Stockholm. The King, informed of his object, immediately hastened to the capital, and shut himself up with his guards in his palace, the avenues of which he strongly fortified and prepared for resistance.

At the same time, a committee headed by Baron d'Alderscrantz and General Klingpoor, boldly waited on His Majesty to apprise him that he would not be permitted to quit the capital, and the keepers of the public treasury, at their instigation, refused to give him money. On the 13th, the conspirators again entered the palace to confer with His Majesty. The King drew his sword upon Alderscrantz, but he was disarmed, arrested, and committed to close custody. His uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, immediately undertook the administration of the Executive, and convoked a General Diet, to consider the grave circumstances of the succession to the crown. The King, at once, made a formal renunciation, and the Diet conferred the crown on the Duke of Sudermania, who was proclaimed King on the 5th of June. No disturbances whatever took place on this change of dynasty, and the people appeared so satisfied, that even the theatres of Stockholm remained open as if nothing unusual had occurred.

### 32. WAR IN POLAND.

The waters of the Vistula had been slightly stained with blood in the late campaign. The Archduke Ferdinand was in Poland at the head of a corps of Austrians 32,000 strong, with 96 guns. The French army opposed to him was under the direction of Prince Poniatowski, who had only 22,000 men in his ranks to oppose to the Archduke. On the 19th of April the two armies engaged near Baszyn, when the Polish Prince was forced to retire and uncover Warsaw, with the loss of 500 killed and 4 pieces of cannon. Poniatowski, quitting the capital, took up a position on the Bug; whence, remounting the right bank of the Vistula, he marched to unite himself with Prince Galitzin's army of 20,000 Russians. The numbers were forthwith reversed, and the Austrians were overpowered and routed by the confederate forces near Gora on the 18th of May, but were enabled to retire into the provinces of old Prussia, where they succeeded in raising the standard of insurrection in the very neighbourhood of Dantzig. Poniatowski, however, leaning towards the Moravian frontier, seized Cracow, and Ferdinand thought it prudent to fall back upon the army of the Generalissimo, which he had just joined when the armistice of Znaim put an end to the war.

### 33. WAR IN ITALY AND THE IONIAN ISLANDS.

The British Admiral in the Mediterranean, Lord Collingwood, found, on exploring the coasts by his cruisers, that the Roman and Tuscan shores were absolutely denuded of troops, and drew the attention of Sir John Stuart, the General commanding the British force in Sicily, to this circumstance, suggesting that it might be well to assist the Archduke John's operations in the Italian peninsula, by making a descent on some point of the kingdom of Naples. Accordingly, the subject was broached to the Sicilian court, and a joint military expedition, of which Sir John Stuart and H.R.H.

Prince Leopold, with the Marquis de St. Clara, and General Bouchard took the command, appeared on the 13th of June, off the coast of Calabria. A detachment, under Lieutenant-colonel Smith, immediately landed and seized the Castle of Scylla, which they dismantled and then abandoned. On the 24th the squadron anchored off Cape Miseno, and preparations were immediately made for an attack on the island of Ischia. The descent was effected by Generals M'Farlane and Lumley at the head of the 21st and 81st regiments, and other detachments, amounting to 2,340 men, who advanced rapidly upon some 200 or 300 men, who opposed their landing, and made the whole of them prisoners. General Calonne, who commanded, retired with his principal force into the castle, which he surrendered on the 30th, after breaching-batteries had been established. The adjacent garrison of Procida being summoned, surrendered also on the same day. The object of the expedition was not, however, to retain these paltry conquests, but to induce the authorities at Naples to recall the troops which had been sent off to reinforce the Viceroy in the north of Italy. As soon, therefore, as it was thought that this object had been effectually attained, the expedition returned to Sicily with a good many prisoners, and 100 pieces of cannon. The British blockading force off Toulon witnessed, at this time, a singular effect of these harassing demonstrations upon the enemy's operations. The French ships came to the outermost waters of the harbour, where they had never ventured before, as if ready for some start, and Admiral Allemande was sent for from Rochefort to supersede Admiral Gantheaume. One day a great stir was manifest in the enemy's fleet, which got under way, and the British blockading squadron prepared to receive it, but, after sails were all up, and decks cleared, the demonstration suddenly came to an end. It was said that the two French admirals could not agree as to what they ought to do; but, at all events, they did nothing, and the ships anchored again.

General L'Espine, with an Austrian force, marched from Trieste to Fiume: from Fiume to Zara; and from Zara back to Trieste again; but he had evidently no fixed plan, and, although the British fleet were hovering about to aid him in his object, they could not divine what it was, and consequently were unable to render him any assistance.

Admiral Lord Collingwood was always on the alert to harass the French within the limits of his command, and now urged Sir John Stuart to send a detachment of the Sicilian army to co-operate with a squadron in seizing the Ionian islands. 1,600 men, under Brigadier Oswald, were accordingly embarked in transports, convoyed by the "Warrior," 74, Captain Spranger; and "Spartan," 38, Captain Jahleel Brenton, who sailed from Messina on the 23rd of September. On the 1st of October these were joined by the "Magnificent," "Belle Poule," and "Kingfisher," when they all anchored for the night in the bay of Zante, out of reach of the batteries. The expedition was undertaken with so much secrecy that, although the enemy manned their guns upon seeing the

troops disembark, yet they did not open fire. The General formed up his men, moved forward, and invested the castle, which surrendered upon terms the same afternoon. Cerigo, Cephalonia, and Ithaca successively adopted the same course, and acceded to similar terms of capitulation, under which the Septinsular Republic was restored, and brought to nearly the same condition of independence as it remains at present.

#### 34. NAPOLEON ANNEXES ROME TO HIS EMPIRE.

Napoleon now formally annexed the patrimony of St. Peter to his kingdom of Italy. The French general, Miollis, in command of the Castle of St. Angelo, entered the Palace of the Quirinal suddenly on the 17th of May, and with great violence and disrespect made the Pope prisoner; when the temporal domains were forthwith seized under an Imperial decree, and Rome declared to be the second city of Napoleon's empire. The mighty conqueror stripped His Holiness of all his temporal power, notwithstanding a lavish use of ecclesiastical thunder, and merely allowed him to retain his spiritual dignities. On the 8th of June Pius VII. was ordered to depart from the City of the Seven Hills, and, accordingly, took his way towards Avignon. In November a deputation of the Roman nobility repaired to Paris to lay at the Emperor's feet their homage and gratitude for this release from clerical government. Half a century has since rolled away, and the question of the temporal possessions of the Pope again occupies the attention of the world. Perhaps another half century may pass before such an act of truly sound policy as the removal of a pseudo-religious temporal monarchy from the face of the earth shall be consummated; before the so long barely tolerated earthly crown of a petty sovereign, with its antiquated conclave of cardinals and mischievous society of Propaganda, shall be exchanged for the really influential position of a Supreme Pontiff, to whom united Christianity might look up with respect and confidence for the concentration of the powers of pure religion and useful learning against the evil influences of infidelity and immorality. The name of *Roman Catholic* sounds to our common sense a paradox. We see every day that the sect becomes more Roman and less Catholic throughout the world; but how largely must it increase in substantial influence, and how much of its ancient splendour would it obtain, if it would become strictly Catholic by ceasing to be Roman altogether!

#### 35. WAR RENEWED BETWEEN RUSSIA AND TURKEY — BATTLE OF TARTARIZZA.

The peace of Tilsit had for the moment the influence of an armistice upon the conflict still going on between the Turks and Russians; but the subsequent revolutions at Constantinople so crippled the Porte that it would seem as if the teeth of the Otto-

mans were altogether drawn, that the "sick man" was already *in extremis*, and likely to receive at this time the *coup de grâce* from his traditional adversary. On the other hand, the war in Finland having come to an end, and the French Emperor being now fully occupied with the serious armaments against his power in Austria and Spain, and apparently indifferent about either the Czar or the Sultan, or the results of a campaign in Wallachia and Servia, Alexander quietly reinforced his army on the Danube, and ordered it to be carried across that river.

The Russians, nevertheless, were far from reaping that benefit from the internal distractions of Turkey which, from their overwhelming superiority of disposable force at this juncture, might have been anticipated. 125 battalions of foot, 95 squadrons of horse, and 10,000 Cossacks were placed under the command of Prince Prosorowsky, whose orders were to march into the heart of the Ottoman Empire and threaten its downfall. This prince, however, though he had been an able general, was little acquainted with the peculiarities of Turkish warfare, and, at a moment when everything depended upon vigorous action, did little but pass across the Danube. The advanced guard, indeed, under Prince Miloradovitch, defeated the enemy at Slobosca and blockaded Giourschef, where he was subsequently repulsed in an attempt to take the place by escalade, and lost 2,000 or 3,000 men. In Servia the war had been kept alive against the Turks by Czerny George, who now openly espoused the Russian cause, and the Porte, weakened by late events, had not sufficient force to keep the field against both enemies. Sultan Mahmoud, therefore, adopted the plan of merely protecting himself against the hostile demonstrations of Russia by throwing strong garrisons into the frontier fortresses, and carrying his entire disposable force against Czerny George, whom he caused to be attacked in the month of May at Nizza, to which place he had penetrated, and he was, accordingly, obliged to fall back again under the cannon of Belgrade, and to retire his army behind the Morava. Prosorowsky, however, marched down in support of his Servian allies, but failed with great loss in attempting to carry some fortresses. However, General Nenandovitch, with a Russian corps, entered Bosnia and stormed the Turkish entrenchments there, obliging the army to retire from them behind the Drina. Such was the condition of the contest at the beginning of August.

Prince Prosorowsky now haughtily announced that he would cross the Danube with 40,000 men, and advance to the foot of the Balkan; and, in pursuance of this resolve, he passed over the river at Galatz to carry his threat into execution. The old Russian Marshal was, however, staggered at the progress of the war in Germany, and with the success of Napoleon at Wagram, followed as it had been by the submission of Austria, and though it could not be said to concern in the least his campaign against the Turks, his army rested again perfectly quiescent. The Turks availed themselves of the repose of the Prince immediately, in order to overwhelm the Servians, and the Grand-Vizier boldly crossed at Giurgevo on the

4th of August, retook Nizza, and threatened Belgrade. Prosvrowsky was much chagrined at this inroad, and his health broke down under the anxiety and fatigues of his command, so that about this period he died, when Prince Bagration succeeded to the command of the Russian army. In order to bring back the Grand-Vizier, Bagration forthwith crossed the Danube at the embouchure of the Pruth, near Galatz, which opened a way for the Russian flotilla to enter into the mouth of the Danube, and then invested Ismail, which surrendered on the 26th of September. He then advanced against Silistria, and on his way surprised the entrenched camp of Khoref Pacha at Bassavata. The Vizier, however, contrived to throw in 15,000 Turks, under Pechlivar, for the defence of that fortress, and the Russians were consequently obliged to limit their operations against the place to a blockade, during the continuance of which their army was seriously diminished by the unhealthiness of the autumn season on the banks of the Danube. At the end of October the Grand-Vizier boldly took the field, and on the 3rd of November came up and fought a bloody battle with the Russians at Tartarizza, in which there is no doubt that the Russians were worsted, for the result of it was the raising of the blockade of Silistria. After this Bagration withdrew across the Danube, and took up winter quarters in Bessarabia, leaving a single corps entrenched near Hirsova, in order to maintain their ground on the south bank of the Danube. Some little lustre was, however, shed on the Russian armies, by which honour was derived to the first campaign of Prince Bagration ; Brahilow having, after a long investment, surrendered on the 21st of November to the division of General Essen, by which a secure means was obtained of passing troops across the Danube at any future time.

In Georgia, the Russian army, under General Tomasof, seized and held possession of Poti, at the embouchure of the river Phasis, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Pacha of Trebizonte to save it. The place was strategically important, from being situated at the confluence of the Phasis with the Black Sea ; and it strengthened the Russians in their further relations with Persia.

### 36. WALCHEREN EXPEDITION.

An expedition of a formidable character was undertaken by the British this year against the heart of the continental dominions of France. Antwerp had been made into a very extensive naval arsenal by the orders of Napoleon, who discovered that he had, by the acquisition of the Belgian provinces, not only become master of the entrance of the Scheldt, but also the possessor of a capacious basin or harbour in which a fleet of 20 sail of the line could lie in perfect readiness for sea, almost within sight of the British shores ; that Antwerp was in effect the true key of England, threatening an entire eastern seaboard, on which there was no corresponding estuary or harbour for a fleet. The attention of the Emperor having been directed to the advantages possessed by this city for

offensive operations, very considerable activity had lately become apparent in her arsenals. In the summer of this year Rear-Admiral Missiessy had at anchor under his command, to the south-east of Cadzand, "Le Charlemagne," 74, bearing the Admiral's flag; "L'Albanais," 74, "L'Anversois," 74, "Le César," 74, "Le Commerce de Lyon," 74, "Le Dalmate," 74, "Le Dantzig," 74, "Le Duguesclin," 74, "Le Pultusk," 74, and "Le Ville de Berlin," 74. There were also at this time on the stocks of Antwerp 6 ships of war of 80 guns each, and 3 of 74. The number of slips for building ships in this arsenal had been increased to nineteen, all situated close under the protective fire of the citadel, and at this moment not one of these slips was without the keel of a vessel of war, large or small. It was understood that Napoleon had expended already on the fortifications, basin, dockyard, and arsenal of Antwerp no less a sum than two and a half millions sterling. This aggressive entrepôt now, therefore, constituted an important object of attack for Great Britain, either to be destroyed, or temporarily held as a diversion in favour of Austria. It is agreed by all military writers, that such was the weakness of the position of Antwerp at this moment, that had the British advanced rapidly either on shore across Beveland, or by the waters of the Scheldt, pursuing vigorously the French fleet, which must have fled for safety under the guns of the citadel, all the forts and defences of the river must have been taken by surprise, and would have fallen. The fortress itself, badly garrisoned, and paralysed by a vigorous attack, must have succumbed in terror. The coast was so denuded of troops, that nothing could have impeded the march of an army such as was now preparing against it—whether it should move by the route above-named, or, what might have been under the circumstances preferable, land on some part of the coast of Belgium opposite Bruges, and march by Ghent, and along the high road to the Tête de Flandre. This might have been accomplished in three days, during which the fleet might have pushed along the estuary, and silenced all the intermediate forts capable of impeding a subsequent retreat if necessary. The instructions drawn up for the military portion of the expedition contemplated its being landed at Zartoleit, which is eighteen miles from Antwerp, and it was calculated that leaving the Downs on the 4th, and losing no time in hesitation, they might summon Antwerp on the 12th. Everything in such an enterprise depended upon secrecy and despatch, and under such a commanding genius as Napoleon, whose arm alone possessed the power to wield such a thunderbolt, it was perfectly practicable—in fact, he admitted as much at St. Helena, but thought that a landing might have been preferably effected at Williamstadt, and that from that point a coup-de-main would have succeeded.

It was clear that the object contemplated depended not only on a considerable and well-appointed force, naval and military, but in a very eminent degree upon the character and qualities of the commanders. The naval part of the expedition was placed under the orders of Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Strachan, an officer of consi-

derable experience, and of recognised energy. The command of the army was intrusted to Lieutenant-General the Earl of Chatham, an officer (of no military experience, and utterly unknown to fame), reputed to possess a vigorous understanding, for which, as the son and brother of the most eminent statesmen of the age, men readily gave him credit. He was a man whose habits of life were proverbial for nerveless indolence, so that he enjoyed the soubriquet of *the late Lord Chatham*. Who was the insidious friend who brought him out of his obscurity to jeopardise the little reputation he ever had; whether he had studied the theory of war after a fashion, and fancied himself born to inherit distinction and honour; or whether his political associates put him forward to restore his narrow and somewhat embarrassed fortune, have not been remembered; but there can be no doubt that his appointment to the command of the army was a fatal blunder, and the cause of its entire failure. So much has been recorded in these "Annals" to show the supreme importance of activity, energy, and untiring industry in high military command, that it is scarcely necessary to do more than state that all these qualities were wanting in the General selected to carry into effect one of the best prepared enterprises ever devised to uphold the policy of Great Britain.

It was in the latter end of May that the British Government first resolved to send an expedition to the Scheldt. The General Commanding the army in chief, at this juncture, was Sir David Dundas, who had, indeed, reported that 15,000 men could scarcely be spared from the requisites of home service for any foreign expedition whatever. Great exertions were, nevertheless, demanded at his hands, and made, so that before the 8th of June the muster rolls of the disposable force showed on paper an army of no less than 40,000 men. Before the end of May the news of the battle of Essling arrived to cheer the allied cause; and the information was not to be doubted that Napoleon had withdrawn from the Antwerp defences so many troops for his necessities on the Danube that the utmost number left to garrison the forts did not exceed 2,400 men, of whom more than one-half were invalids or non-effectives. It required the exact counterpart of the mighty spirit then working on the island of Lob-awe, for his own gigantic object, to prepare a force of the magnitude of the British conjunct expedition, which was to include a battering train of 70 large breaching guns and 74 mortars, and a fleet of 37 sail of the line, and all the stores requisite for an immense armament, and this within the very earliest period of time. As it was, the news of the battle of Wagram and of the armistice of Znaim actually took the preparations by surprise, for it was the 28th of July before the fleet quitted the Downs.

On the 29th, in the morning, the two Commanders-in-chief, with Rear-Admiral Sir Gordon Keats, and Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope, reached the enemy's waters nearly opposite Zeirickzee, in the Roompot channel, between Noord-Beveland, and Schonwen. The following morning Rear-Admiral Otway arrived with the left wing of the army, under Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, a

Domburg, but there was such a surf on the western coast of Walcheren that a landing here was considered impracticable, and they were accordingly carried round to the Roompot and up the Veere-gat, where they anchored the same evening in safety. Meanwhile three other divisions, under the command respectively of Lieutenant-General the Marquis of Huntly, the Earl of Rosslyn, and Grosvenor, were brought into the Wieling branch of the Scheldt, to be landed on the coast of Cadsand. On the 30th the bomb-vessels and gunboats, under the direction of Captain Sir Home Popham, opened a cannonade on the town and fort of Veer, but on the first appearance of an enemy, the French General Bries, who had command of 600 men, abandoned his post, and crossed over the dyke to Zuid-Beveland, leaving Colonel Van Bogart inside the fort. The defenceless town of Middleburg was, however, taken possession of by a division under Lieutenant-General Fraser the same day, and in the course of the night Van Bogart sent in a flag of truce with an offer to capitulate, which was accepted, and on the 11th of August the fort of Veer was taken possession of by the British. On the 3rd, fort Ramekens, near Flushing, surrendered, and General Hope having established himself in Zuid-Beveland, General Bries evacuated the important fort of Battz, which was taken possession of. As the transports successively entered the mouth of the Scheldt and landed the troops, the British fleet came into the channels; on sight of which Admiral Missiessy weighed and stood further up the Scheldt, and by the 1st had passed the boom opposite Fort Lillo. General Rousseau, who commanded in Cadsand, had but 300 men, but by some mistake the transports that were to have landed the division on that island went round to the Veergat, and the French General, finding himself unassailed, immediately sent orders to put the town of Flushing in a state of preparation to resist the enemy. The "Raven," 16, Captain Hauchett, did his utmost to prevent the communication of the French with Flushing across the Steen Diep, but he got terribly mauled by the guns of the place, and at length only saved himself by getting on shore on the Elborg sand; so that by the exertions of General Rousseau, some 7,000 men, under General Monnet, were passed across to make a garrison for that fortress. The officers of the British navy were indefatigable in sounding and buoying the various channels of the Scheldt, and in assisting to bring the supplies and matériel of the army to land, but it was on the 16th, in the afternoon, before the following 10 frigates, under the command of Captain Lord William Stuart, entered the western branch of the Scheldt:—His own ship "Lavinia," 40, "Perlen," 38, Captain Norbonne Thompson, "Rota," 38, Captain Somerville, "Statira," 38, Captain Worsley Boys, "Amethyst," 36, Captain Sir Michael Seymour, "Aigle," 36, Captain Wolfe, "Euryalus," 36, Honourable Captain Dundas, "Dryad," 36, Captain Galwey, "Nymphe," 36, Captain Maxwell, "Heroine," 32, Captain Christian. This flotilla forced the passage between Flushing and Cadsand, with slight loss and very little damage.

From the 3rd to the 8th of August, the soldiers were construct-

ing and arming batteries to bombard Flushing, on which latter day General Monnet ordered a sortie, under General Osten, but all his endeavours could not carry a single battery from its defenders, and the French were driven in again, with the loss of 800 men. It had been arranged that a squadron of 7 effective line-of-battle ships, under the command of Rear-Admiral Lord Gardiner, should co-operate with the army in cannonading Flushing. Accordingly, on the 12th, the "Blake," 74, Captain Codrington, with his lordship's flag; the "Repulse," 74, Captain Arthur Legge; the "Dannemark," 74, Captain Bissett; the "Victorious," Captain Graham; the "Audacious," 74, Captain Campbell, and the "Venerable," 74, Captain King, were assembled under the immediate direction of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Richard Strachan, who was in the "St. Domingo," 74, Captain Gill. One division of bomb and gun vessels under the command of Captain Cockburn, and a similar division under Captain Philip Browne, were stationed off the south-east and south west of the town. On the 13th and 14th, all these batteries opened at once on the devoted place, and continued without intermission for 42 hours, when the whole town was in a blaze from the Congreve rockets, and the fire of the garrison ceased. After a first summons had been refused, General Monnet himself proposed to surrender, but could obtain no better terms than marching out with the honours of war, and being sent prisoner to England. Napoleon was always severe upon any officer who surrendered a garrison, and accordingly ordered General Monnet to be tried for *lâ-héle et trahison*, and he was condemned to death *par contumace*, but remained a prisoner in England till the restoration, when he was reinstated in his honours by the Bourbons. The loss sustained by the British in reducing the place was comparatively insignificant. The ships were many of them set on fire by red-hot shot and seriously damaged in hull, mast, and rigging, but the loss of men in the ships was 9 killed and 55 wounded, but the whole loss from the first did not exceed 112 killed and 498 wounded.

Upon the receipt of the despatch of General Rousseau, bringing the account of a British invasion, the Minister of War at Paris (Clarke, Due de Feltre) sent off to apprise Napoleon at Schönbrunn, and immediately took active measures for the safety of Antwerp. Superior officers of every arm of military science were found in Paris, together with a Civil Governor, and the Senator Rampon immediately repaired thither, and the National Guards and every dispo-able detachment of troops which could be brought together, were marched in all haste to the banks of the Scheldt. On the 12th, King Louis Bonaparte arrived there in person, with 6,000 men, and the Prince Marshal Bernadotte followed on the 14th, who immediately assumed the command of the army, and the King withdrew to Amsterdam.

After the fall of Flushing, the islands of Schonwen and Duiveland came into the peaceable possession of the army, and Lord Chatham, on the 21st, removed his head-quarters from Middleburg to Veer, and on the 23rd to Goes; and, while 10,000 men were

left to maintain possession of Walcheren, the remaining force of 28,000 men was to be rendered applicable to the reduction of the forts of Lillo and Liefkenshoek, each of considerable strength, mounting 40 pieces of heavy cannon, and now strongly garrisoned. Since the 19th, symptoms of an alarming fever had already become apparent in the British camp, occasioned probably by the miasma arising out of the inundation of the country round, which had been caused by the cutting of the dykes by order of General Rousseau, and it had caused already some anxiety. At length, on the 26th, the head-quarters of the army were moved to Fort Bahtz, where the "St. Domingo," with the flag of the Admiral, and the frigates, still remained. On the evening of that day a council of war was there held, which determined, as such councils commonly do, that the enterprise had better be abandoned, for not only was the sickness increasing daily but that the enemy were now fully on the alert, and had collected a force of 30,000 men, who had surrounded themselves with all the preparations for a resolute defence; that Admiral Missiessy's fleet was already in perfect security at Rupelmonde, five miles above Antwerp; and that, therefore, the further object of the expedition were no longer attainable. Orders were accordingly given for the evacuation of Zuid-Beveland, and by the 4th of September no troops were left within any of the mouths of the Scheldt, except a garrison sufficient to defend Walcheren. On the 14th, Lord Chatham, preceding the army, arrived in England, where he was received with very great dissatisfaction. The French threw every bitter sarcasm on this very costly expedition, nor were the British backward in their denunciation of it. Every sort of ridicule and odium was thrown upon the Government who had sent it out; and, what was worse, it was kept in the recollection of every family in the land for an entire generation, by the effects of the well-remembered Walcheren fever. The troops were not entirely withdrawn from Walcheren until towards the end of the year, when the healthy season was commencing. Then the basin, arsenal, and sea defences of Flushing having been destroyed, this ill-fated expedition came to an end on the 23rd of December, having scarcely encountered an enemy, having lost one-half of its original numbers from sickness, having effected nothing, and having cost the nation twenty millions sterling!

Napoleon was not satisfied either with the commission given to Bernadotte by the Minister of War, or by his administration of the trust reposed in him, and sent Marshal Bessières to supersede him, who re-established the batteries and made many ineffectual attempts to employ them against the ships and land detachments of the British, during the continuance of their occupation of the island, but without serious results. The wits of Paris, among other charges against Lord Chatham, declared of him "de s'être occupé presque exclusivement de sa santé, et du soin d'avoir de bon bouillée de tortue au lieu de se livrer aux détails de l'expédition qui lui était confiée." The English wits gave vent to their displeasure in the following epigram:—

"The Earl of Chatham, with his sword drawn,  
Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan;  
Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,  
Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham."

The Walcheren Expedition and the Coruña Retreat did more to injure the military reputation of England upon the Continent than the well-fought triumphs of Alexandria, Maida, Coruña, Vimiero, and Talavera could counterbalance. This has been, in truth, a great injustice to the British. The Germans and Russians, who think more of military prowess from the numbers of an army than from its intrinsic worth, have evinced little freedom of thought and independence in their military opinions, in which they have absolutely succumbed to those of French writers. Cowed by the crushing exploits of Napoleon, and dazzled by the brilliant success of his arms, they have adopted, in almost every case, the French estimate of the prowess of other nations, and sought consolation for their own disasters in gloating on the shortcomings of England; not regarding her wonderful exertions, naval and military, against the common enemy.

### 37. PENINSULAR WAR.

Since the commencement of the year a material improvement had taken place in the prospects of the Spanish nation. Marshals Soult and Ney had been compelled to abandon completely both Portugal and Galicia, and a supply of money had been transmitted to the patriots by their South American brethren. Napoleon, after his reverse at Essling, had neither time to attend to Spanish affairs nor men to spare to reinforce his armies in the Peninsula; and a British army was silently gathering strength for a new swoop, which even threatened to endanger the French possession of Madrid. At this period the several French armies were distributed as follows: Marshal Victor, with about 23,000 men, had, after the seizure of the bridge at Alcantara, advanced into Beira, and had even pushed forward his outposts as far as Castello Branco, but hearing that a British force, under General Mackenzie, was at Sobreira-formosa, and that Soult had been driven from Oporto, he determined to cross the Tagus and return to Merida, where the castle had been already threatened by a division of Cuesta's army and which he only just reached in time to relieve. A corps of 18,000 men, under Sebastiani, still held La Mancha; 10,000 were in the neighbourhood of Madrid, under direction of the intrusive King and Marshal Jourdain; 40,000 were in Arragon and Catalonia under Generals Suchet and St. Cyr, fully occupied by the persevering energy of the patriot generals; Kellerman, with a division of cavalry in Old Castile, kept the communications open between the north, where Soult, Ney, and Mortier had amongst them 60,000 men, and the centre and east of the kingdom, which altogether contained an equal number.

*The Spanish army of Cuesta comprising 33,000 men, occupied the left bank of the Tagus, and held the bridge*

of Almarez ; 18,000 men, under Vanegas, opposed Sebastiani in La Mancha ; De la Romagna was in Galicia with 15,000, and Blake in Valencia with 20,000. The British army, under Sir Arthur Wellesley, had now accumulated to 22,000 men, who were concentrated in the vicinity of Abrantes, but were not in the very best order. Much sickness and a great deal of inubordination and lack of discipline required them to be held stationary for a while to recover their organisation ; nearly 5,000, indeed, were in hospital, but the behaviour of the soldiers had been so bad, that many were in confinement, and many had even abandoned their regiments and given themselves up to an independent course of rapine and licentiousness. The opinion of the Commander-in-Chief is a very humiliating one as recorded in his despatches to the Government :—“ I have long been of opinion that a British army can bear neither success nor failure.” In honest truth, however, all armies are alike in this respect. The license of a period of war, when everyone with arms in his hands can do what is right in his own eyes ; when a man is spoiled by the adulation of success, and embittered by the privations of defeat, offers the same experience in every nation ; and this is the moment when the efficiency of good officers and non-commissioned officers is most tested, when, indeed, a national characteristic is most displayed. If those in authority are sordid, corrupt, profligate, immoral, unprincipled, an armed force goes hopelessly to the bad ; but when officers are highminded, well-principled, honourable men, military disorders are soon repaired, and, as in Wellesley’s army, they are of very short duration. There was, however, an evil of very great magnitude pressing on the General at this moment. There was no money in the military chest. His operations were, therefore, by these concurrent causes impeded for a considerable period ; for he could not get on without money, and instead of listening to his urgent demands for it, the British Government was employing all its pecuniary resources in the expedition to the Scheldt, which ought not to have been thought of, if the credit at its disposal was not at the same time equal to the demands of the war in the Peninsula, which had the first and most imperative claim upon the national resources.

Between the Douro and the Tagus there are but two lines by which an army can advance upon Madrid : the one by Salamanca, the other by Castello Branco. The whole country intervening between these two main communications is one impracticable Sierra ; and even these roads, the latter by Coria and Placentia, on Talavera, the former by the Puerto de Baños, on the Guadarama, offer many strong and difficult positions, if defended by a resolute enemy.

Public feeling in England being decidedly opposed to the opinion entertained by Sir John Moore, that no confidence was to be placed in any co-operation of the Spanish armies, Sir Arthur Wellesley was induced to open the campaign by a bold and comprehensive strategic plan, which was to offer the right hand of fellowship in thorough good faith to the Spaniards, whether politicians or generals, and to advance, in concert with the army of Don

Gregorio de Cuesta, against Marshal Victor's intervening army and upon Madrid. The Spanish authorities having undertaken to supply ample provisions for the British troops on the line of march, he implicitly relied upon their promises, and broke up his cantonments near Abrantes, without any itinerant commissariat of his own. On the 27th of June, directing his march on Placentia, by Castello Branca, Zaza Mayor, and Coria, he calculated that the beating he had given Soult had disqualified that army from assuming the offensive, but he was ignorant of the orders which Napoleon had sent out of Germany, directing the Marshal to assume the supreme command of the two corps of Ney and Mortier, and to advance with the whole force united on the flank of the British army. To effect this object, however, it was first necessary for the French Marshal to lay siege to Ciudad Rodrigo, the possession of which would open a direct means of cutting off, through a descent by Placentia on Almaraz, all retreat of the allied army out of Spain. Soult at once proposed to the intrusive King to lay siege to this fortress with a view of forcing Wellesley to withdraw out of Spain; but Joseph thought it of more importance to protect Madrid. Napoleon, however, judged as Soult had done, and wrote from Schönbrunn, "Wellesley will probably advance by the Tagus upon Madrid; in this case, pass the mountains, fall upon his flank and rear, and destroy him." The possibility of such a step was present to the mind of the British Commander, who had directed Beresford to move on Almeida and to co-operate with the Duque del Pasque, who was in the neighbourhood of Ciudad Rodrigo; and Wilson, who was in the Gredos mountains with the Lusitanian Legion, was appointed to guard the defile of Baños and to watch the Col de Peralea. He had, however, at this time the incontestable evidence of a General Franceschi, who had been taken prisoner by the Guerrillas, that Soult had not quitted Zamora on the 30th of June. While, therefore, the army remained at Placentia from the 8th to the 13th of July, Sir Arthur Wellesley thought it prudent to concert measures with the army with which he was to co-operate, and therefore repaired to the Spanish head-quarters at Puerto Mirabete, to have an interview with Cuesta. He found the General sullen, obstinate, haughty, and impracticable, in no degree concealing his natural arrogance and the supreme contempt in which he held the English General. Wellesley however, after much trouble, induced him to promise that his army should be amply provisioned on the line of advance agreed upon, and immediately on returning to his head-quarters he issued orders for a forward movement on Madrid.

While the British army rested at Placentia no decided indication had been given of the future intentions of its leader. He there covered Almaraz as well as Ciudad Rodrigo, and thus watched every point of junction of the French armies, but as soon as he moved forward to Oropesa, where he joined Cuesta on the 20th, *he exposed his left flank*. On the 24th, 25th, and 26th, the French forces began to concentrate. Marshal Victor now warned the

native King of Mexico, but the day before the battle he descended by Wellesley and Cuesta, but the former was marching against themselves at the side of La Plata. Marshal Soult had been invited by General Junot to collect all the forces he could assemble, and advanced a force of fifteen thousand in the town which was supposed to number 100,000 men exclusive of the corps of Vizcaya, numbering 20,000 British and 40,000 Spanish. The army of Vizcaya was estimated at 20,000 men, and the garrison of Madrid could amount to 10,000 men, including the King's guard. A report was disseminated to Spain for the sake of the corps of Almeria, consisting of 10,000 or 12,000 men, but soldiers scattered at Villa Comun, but at three months from Madrid the Spaniards already advanced Madrid to march to Barcelona, and King Joseph, having reduced into the possession of the armies of Aragón and Catalonia, was afraid of marching in a commencement of winter, and he would never hear the commandments of the Emperor, who had so much apprehension about the immense superiority of the French troops in the ranks of Spain. Junot, however, intended returning to move directly through the province of Tarragona to the vicinity of Madrid, Vizcaya, where some the French army would be again encamped.

Very shortly after Wellesley had effected the junction of his army with that of Cuesta, the ill-will and unfeelingness of the latter produced upon him. The English General commanded that the essential supplies for his army had not been forthcoming, and he informed Cuesta that unless furnished with the articles which he had stated and expressly demanded, he would not leave another league in advance of his own territories. The old soldier rebuked the old soldier who was uncommunicative in requiring more than was deemed singly sufficient for the present, and Sir Arthur unwilling to recede from the position of a successful general, sent the word as ill grace to the unfeeling general. Junot, Vizcaya now withdrew behind the Ebro, and the allied army advanced to Caldes de la Barca, where it took up a joint encampment in the hills. Wellesley with his accustomed vigour now prepared to attack Caldes next morning, but Cuesta, the unfeeling general, informed him the effect of his decision took in the last night. The French General accordingly was enabled to withdraw unopposed towards Caldes — a strategic point of considerable importance, as it afforded him immediate communication with the corps of Soult. Wellesley now maintained a distant communication in order to urge Cuesta to move in his attack, but without effect, until the next day he was sufficiently far that the time for action was rapidly away, for he received information that Soult was advancing his army in the rear while King Joseph in the town was uniting all his strength to reinforce Vizcaya. At length a report being received by the French officer commanding the rearguard that the French were withdrawing their soldiers and preparing to be paledly assisted in leaving the town in order Madrid. Cuesta changed his mind, and prepared to attack in the high morning. Sir Arthur

that the enemy was in full retreat; but the British General knew better, and was now firm in refusing to quit the Alberche to move forward. The Spaniards were, nevertheless, put in motion on Sta Olalla and Torrejos, and their columns passed the river in rapid succession; but Wellesley, though he would not advance, looked most anxiously upon Cuesta's rash movement. Jomini sees in this cautious and judicious proceeding of the British General "une foible idée de son talent et de son caractère—de l'aplomb mais peu de hardiesse." Nevertheless, he finds fault with Joseph for not tempting the allied generals forward, which was the precise reason which made Wellesley pull up, and which had inspired him with alarm for Cuesta's rashness. The French were assembled behind the Guadarama stream with an army of nearly 50,000 men and 90 guns, and Wellesley, seeing the inevitable consequences of the Spaniard's presumption, sent forward across the Alberche the whole of the British cavalry, with two infantry divisions, under General Sherbrooke in support. The van of Cuesta's army was attacked, as Wellesley expected, on the morning of the 26th, and after considerable resistance was driven back in confusion, followed closely by the dragoons of Latour-Maubourg. Fortunately the Duke del Albuquerque, with 3,000 Spanish cavalry, stood firm, and by a gallant charge checked the enemy in the very nick of time; for a panic had already begun to diffuse itself in the Spanish ranks. Sir Arthur who witnessed the disorderly march of chattering assemblages of half-clad, half-armed men, now came up, and besought Cuesta to withdraw his army to Talavera, undertaking that Sherbrooke should remain to cover the movement; but Cuesta's uncouth nature again broke forth. He saw his troops beaten, dispirited, fatigued, and bewildered, yet said that his army would be disheartened by a retreat; and it was not until after much persuasion that the sullen old man yielded, turning round to his staff with the absurd remark, that "he had first made the Englishman go down on his knees." Having vented this ridiculous speech, he retired into the lumbering coach and six, which always attended his head-quarters in his campaigns, "leaving to 'the Englishman,' by virtue of his superior genius, to assume the command of both armies." Sir Arthur posted the Spanish army in two lines upon the right of the position he had assumed at Talavera, resting their flank on the town, which touched upon the river, and their entire front being covered by an extensive grove of olive and cork trees.

### 38. BATTLE OF TALAVERA.

The British commander had not been unmindful of the very critical situation into which he had got himself by trusting too confidently to Spanish presumption, and by marching almost to the capital itself without the ordinary security for the provisioning of his army; but he saw that it would be necessary to satisfy public opinion by trying the fortunes of a battle, and examined the ground about Talavera, where he discovered a limited but very favourable

position suited to his object. It has been thought that Joseph could have done better had he awaited the movement of Soult (who was at last certainly in motion), but having advanced to, and already obtained some success at, Sta Olalla, the French army, in the early morning of the 27th, went forward and again crossed the Alberche in front of Sir Arthur's position. The allied army was situated on commanding ground of about two miles in extent, strengthened with some field works. Between it and the river lay a plain thickly covered with cork and olive, which were also scattered over the lower face of the mountain range here bordering the valley of the Tagus. The right flank rested on the town of Talavera, through which passed the high road, but this was rendered almost unapproachable by the mud enclosures of the suburb, which were occupied by the Spanish riflemen. The left flank was closed by a mound, on which was a large field redoubt. Some unconnected hills, of moderate height, bounded the plain on the left; and on these were situated the British troops, covered in their front by a ravine formed by the winter torrents from the mountains, but at this time dry. In order to secure the point of junction where the British right touched the Spanish left, ten guns were placed in battery on the summit of a bold knoll, and behind this the British and Spanish cavalry were posted. In front of Cuesta's infantry, ditches and felled trees added something to the difficulties of an attack, and a large house, with a wood, also stood there, well placed for defence. A battery likewise covered the retreat, which could be made by the main road from Madrid to Oropesa. From the mound the British line consisted of Campbell's division, in two lines; Sherbrooke's next, but only in one line; then Mackenzie; and then Hill, who had two brigades of artillery posted in his front for the defence of an isolated hill, at which the position terminated. The French army marched in the cool of the morning of the 27th, and fording the Alberche, surprised and attacked General Mackenzie's division, which was posted at the *Casa de Salinas*, and had not yet got into line. Here they were without cavalry outposts, and the woods by which the enemy approached were badly guarded by the sentinels. Indeed, Sir Arthur was like to have been taken prisoner himself, for, at the moment of attack by the divisions Lapisse and Ruffin, he was in the house writing out his directions. The French charged hotly, and an English brigade, now under fire for the first time, was separated and driven back in some disorder; but Wellesley placed himself at the head of the 45th regiment, and, with some companies of the 60th rifles, kept Marshal Victor at bay, and brought the 87th and 88th regiments safely back, having called up some cavalry to cover the movement; but he lost 400 men in this encounter. Mackenzie's division then took up its allotted place in the line, and Marshal Victor rapidly advanced across the plain in fine martial order: Ruffin on the right, then Villatte, then Lapisse; while Sebastiani approached the Spanish line, and pushed forward his light cavalry to make Cuesta show his order of battle. Milhaud's light cavalry actually commenced a pistol skirmish, to which the Spaniards replied with one

general discharge of musketry, when, in one instant of time, 10,000 infantry, with all the artillery, as if deprived of their senses, broke their ranks and fled; the gunners leading away their horses from the guns, and the infantry throwing away their arms, and even Don Gregorio de Cuesta himself going with them. Sir Arthur instantly brought up some British cavalry to flank them, and opened some batteries against the enemy, which were aided by the difficulties of the ground; when Cuesta, having fortunately recovered his presence of mind, sent his horsemen to head the fugitives and bring them back, but about 5,000 men never returned at all, and the great redoubt in the centre was for a long time silent for want of gunners.

Marshal Victor had observed the confusion which appeared to exist in the enemy's army, and thought that a smart attack upon the left before nightfall would bring matters to an issue, and permit him and his *corps-d'armée*, of which he was justly proud, to gain the exclusive glory of the day. Without communicating with the King, or even with Sebastiani, he ordered Ruffin's division to make a circuitous march to their right, but to send up one regiment to attack the hill on that side, and another to press down the valley and get to the rear of the British position, while the third was to attack General Hill's right, where Villatte was to join in support; and Lapisse was to assail the British divisions rather as a diversion than seriously. It was already nearly dark, but the assault was vigorous; at intervals, voices were heard through the dusk calling out not to fire, for that they were of the German Legion. Thinking that at this late hour it was but some English stragglers, Hill with his Brigade-Major Fordyce rode forward, and in a moment found himself in the midst of the French. Fordyce was killed by the first fire, and Hill's horse wounded; indeed, a grenadier had seized the General's bridle, but he disengaged himself from the man's hold and galloped off to the 29th regiment. Considerable sections of the enemy had even got into the English lines; some crying out that they were Spaniards, others Germans. This night contest was carried on with acrimony, and often hand to hand with the butt ends of the muskets. General Donkin had at first gallantly repulsed the attack with his brigade, and the 48th had poured in some telling volleys, but he was at length obliged to give way, and one French regiment actually reached the top of the hill. General Hill, however, arrived in the nick of time with the 29th, which he led up the height, and poured in a volley, followed by such a charge that the enemy could not sustain the shock, but fled in all directions. When the summit was thus happily recovered, the 48th again went forward, and Donkin presented so formidable a front that the 9th French regiment, which made another attempt to ascend, was attacked front and flank and repulsed with little difficulty. The regiment sent up the valley had found obstacles there that they did not expect, so that the whole having failed in their several attacks, the French retired with one of their regiments perfectly cut to pieces. Their loss was estimated at 1,000, and the British loss was nearly 800 men. Both sides now lay down in their bivouac; but about mid-

night the silence was interrupted on the side of Talavera, not by a straggling desultory fire, but by several rolls of musketry. Sir Arthur started up, but when he recognised that it proceeded from the Spaniards, expressed a hope that they would do as well whenever they should be really attacked. As he heard no return fire he soon concluded, what turned out to be the truth, that some false alarm had disturbed the *valorosos*, and he turned in to rest again. Nothing daunted, however, Victor recurred to his attack at 5 in the morning, by inverting the previous order of attack. He, however, informed the King of his intention, and requested that Sebastiani might be ordered to move at the same time against the enemy's centre. He sent forward two regiments, which had taken no part in the first attack, and which advanced at a rapid and steady pace. Ruffin prepared to assail the hill, while Lapisse opened fire against the German brigade of Sherbrooke's division. They were well received on the acclivity by the brigades of Tilson and Richard Stewart. Wellesley saw, however, that Lapisse was this time up in force to assist Ruffin's attack, and therefore sent forward some troops of Sherbrooke's division to bear upon their flank. A tremendous fire of 50 guns covered the advance of the French column, to which fire no adequate answer could be made, for the English guns were few and of small calibre. The Commander-in-Chief, therefore, sent to Cuesta for some assistance, and he sent up two Spanish guns. These were immediately so placed as to bear effectively upon the enemy, and did excellent service, the Spanish gunners fighting them gallantly. Soon the charging shout of the British soldiers was heard above the din and roar of musketry and cannon, and the enemy's troops were seen to go down the hill once more into the ravine below. The energy of the fire and charge which were directed against the French attack soon obliged them to return to their lines. In this conflict Hill was wounded in the shoulder.

It was now about 10 o'clock when the King and Marshal Jourdain, with Victor, met and discussed what step had better next be taken. Jourdain urged the propriety of waiting the arrival of Soult, before they again assailed the British position, and Victor was opposing this council, when a message arrived to say that it was impossible for Marshal Soult to come up in the rear of the British army before the 3rd of August. Reports also came in that the van of Vanegas's army had passed Toledo and was in march on Aranjuez. It was therefore resolved that a vigorous and simultaneous attack, forthwith, from right to left, should be made on the entire allied position. Orders were therefore issued, and steps immediately prepared to carry out the resolve. A small stream flowed through part of the battle-field, and, during this cessation of hostilities, the heat of the weather and the weariness resulting from the night attack, induced many soldiers from both armies to meet at the rivulet for a refreshing draught. The men approached each other fearlessly, and, like good comrades, interchanged their canteens and wine flasks. Suddenly the bugles and drums sounded, and the soldiers jumped up to return to their respective regiments, but not before they had grasped each

other's hands, and spoken a somewhat unintelligible adieu. Wellesley made efficient use of the interval allowed him between these attacks for, perceiving, that the enemy was evidently determined to bear with his principal force on the hill and valley on his left, he now determined to prolong his left flank across the valley, and thereby bring the high ground beyond the valley into his line of defence. He accordingly posted a Spanish division of infantry on the lower ascent of the Sierra de Montelban beyond the rivulet. At this period of the day, the Duque del Albuquerque had induced General Donkin to carry a letter to Wellesley, warning him that his colleague, Cuesta, was no better than a traitor. Sir Arthur received the letter with the utmost coolness, and drily replied, "Very well, General, you may go back to your brigade."

The dispositions of the French attack were soon completed. Ruffin was this time to take his division across the valley, and to move by the foot of the mountains, so as to turn the British left — Villatte following him was to menace the little hill with one brigade, and to guard the valley beyond with the other. Lapisse's division was to follow in support, having Latour-Maubourg with Mortier's brigade of cavalry, and the whole under Victor, were to make a vigorous effort on the hill, and to assail Sherbrooke's division to their right of it. The remainder of the cavalry, under General Beaumont, was directed to support this attack. The King's reserve was to place itself in the centre, in order to act as might be required, and Sebastiani with the whole of his *corps-d'armée* was to fall upon the Spanish army in the centre.

It was about 2 o'clock in the day before the French went forward to the attack according to these dispositions. Heavy clouds of dust on every side of the horizon made it evident that their columns were again advancing in force. Covered by a swarm of sharp-shooters, they came successively into view, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, from the summit of the hill, had a clear sight of the whole field of battle, and readily comprehended the plan of attack. Sebastiani came first into action, advancing against the mound in the centre, on which was the redoubt already spoken of, with the usual impetuosity of French soldiers. Here they had to encounter the British division of General Campbell, assisted by Mackenzie's brigade and two Spanish battalions. A German brigade of General Leval came suddenly and unexpectedly upon some Spanish cavalry, and rapidly formed square to receive them, but their leader, De Porbeck, being killed, the cavalry regiment was hastily withdrawn. The brigade Belair advanced to the left of the mound, came in collision with a mixed force of English and Spanish; and the brigade Rey, on the other side, fell upon one of Campbell's regiments with infinite fury. Regardless of the French skirmishers, the British charged past them with loud shouts, drove the enemy before them, and, affording them no respite, broke their opposing front and lapped their flank with fire. The French were driven back under a battery of a dozen guns, which Campbell at once assailed and carried, but would not break his line by any

further pursuit, and the French, therefore, rallied on their supports and re-formed.

Sir Arthur now turned his view to Victor's attack, and, seeing the whole disposition of Ruffin's and Villatte's advance, sent Anson's brigade of cavalry against the former, as he was skirting the mountains. The 23rd Light Dragoons instantly charged, and Ruffin formed square to receive them, but the chasm of a dry water-course, which was not seen from a distance, stopped the dragoons at the very moment of impingement. Many of the British chargers jumped the ditch, and the officers were followed by some of the men; but the greater part rolled over each other in horrible confusion. Colonel Seymour, in command, was wounded, but Ponsonby dashing on, after clearing the obstacle, passed through Villatte's column, when he found himself in presence of some Polish lancers and Westphalian light horse, under General Strolz. The British cavalry were unable to make any head against this well-formed body, and, being entirely broken, retreated in hot haste, leaving behind them 200 men and officers.

During the progress of this attack, Victor, with Lapisse, and Latour-Maubourg, under cover of the guns, and at the head of the 16th Légère, crossed the watercourse, and pressed hard upon the English to the right of the hill, when Sherbrooke received them with a most galling and destructive fire, and here Lapisse fell dead from a musket-ball; the enemy's ranks were broken in the scuffle, and they gave way. The English Guards quitted their lines and followed the retreating French with such inconsiderate ardour that they came up with the French supporting division, and received an awful pounding from the batteries, so that they were obliged to draw back, exposing the flank of the German Legion, who were now severely pressed in their turn, and got into confusion; but at the same time the brigade Rey, of Sebastiani's corps, was also severely shaken, and obliged to fall back. Sir Arthur saw the Guards make their rash attack, and speedily ordered down the 48th under Colonel Donellan, from the hill, while he at the same time directed the light cavalry, under General Cotton, to move up to their support. This was the critical and decisive point of the battle. A close and well-directed volley arrested the progress of the victorious Sebastiani, and under cover of it the Guards rallied. The French then turned upon the 48th, but that regiment firmly stood its ground, and the Guards, re-formed, advanced with cheers to its support. The cavalry were launched forward just as the French column staggered, and this gave the British the preponderance at the decisive moment. The French attack relaxed, as the British fire grew hotter, and the shouts of the latter's charge were heard along the whole line in triumph. Had the battle at this juncture been in the hands of a consummate general, Joseph's reserve might have restored the combat, and given the advantage to the French side. As it was, the enemy, foiled at all points, gathered together their columns and withdrew. It was only 6 o'clock, and Victor urged Joseph to give the order for the advance of the reserve, for Ruffin was at this time well up the valley

on the flank, and Villatte had but an exhausted British division before him ; but Jourdain, who had from the first opposed giving battle at all, countermanded all further attacks, and gave orders to the army to retire beyond the Alberche, so that by nightfall all had withdrawn, although the fire of artillery did not cease till after dark. The loss of the British in these engagements were, Generals MacKenzie and Langwith killed, and 767 rank and file, 3 Generals, and 3,718 were wounded. On the French side 2 Generals and 944 men were killed, 6,294 wounded. The British took 10 guns, and the French left behind them 7 more in the wood. The Spaniards reported their loss to be 1,200 killed and wounded. But the saddest event of the battle was occasioned by an incident which occurred near the end of the engagement. The long dry grass with which the place was covered was ignited by the expended cartridge papers, and the whole surface of the ground became a sheet of fire. Some hundreds of wounded men, unable to crawl out of reach of the flames, were thus burned to death. Those who served in the Peninsula will remember how common an occurrence was the ignition of a vast plain, and how frequently, from the heat of the weather, the leaves and grass, parched like tinder, caught fire and blazed for weeks. General Jomini remarks on this battle of Talavera, "Cette bataille releva au reste la gloire des successeurs de Marlborough, qui depuis un siècle avait décliné : il fut reconnu que l'infanterie Anglaise pouvait le disputer à la meilleure de l'Europe :" a most gratuitous, impertinent, and unjust assumption, as the annals of the century which has elapsed since the days of Queen Anne's triumphs would indisputably prove to any impartial reader, if it were worth the trouble. Monsieur Thiers, confusing the moral and strategic effects of the movements of other armies with the physical conflict of the two antagonists, puts in a claim for a drawn battle. Savary calls it a battle "où on perdit beaucoup de monde sans aucun résultat." Kausler freely admits the British victory, and Wedekind gives it to the French. Napoleon thought otherwise : "Cette bataille de Talavera donna à l'Empereur un chagrin qui dura plusieurs jours." It will be rather amusing to the English reader to see any doubts of a victory expressed by historians (so called), when the enemy had been foiled in their attempt to force the position, and when the allies kept the field. The campaign was, however, rather a political than a strategical operation on the part of Wellesley, and was most successful in result. It proved to demonstration that the Spanish army was not to be relied upon, and that the British must for the future depend solely on their own prowess ; it also proved that they might do this very well. During the 29th-30th the two armies remained in presence ; but on the former of these days General Craufurd arrived in the British camp with the light brigade from England. They had halted near Malpartida de Placentia, when the alarm caused by the Spanish runaways spread to their bivouac. The General was not of the stuff to succumb to a panic, but instantly called his men to arms, and leaving the weakest to follow as they could, he marched to the front,

with a resolution not to halt until he reached the front or ascertained where Sir Arthur might be. The troops pressed on with such goodwill, that, leaving only 17 stragglers behind, they accomplished 62 English miles in one of the hottest days of the year, in 26 hours : indeed, this body of men had marched previously to their arrival at the halting-place where they had encountered the Spaniards as many as 20 miles, so that they had made a march in reality of 80 miles in about 30 hours. The French claim, and with great justice, the faculty of making extraordinary marches, and no soldiers in the world will obey the desire of a favourite general to tax their powers to the utmost with more invincible good humour and energy than our rivals; but they have never exceeded this march of the British Light Division, notwithstanding.

Reports came in from scouts that rations for about 17,000 or 18,000 men had been ordered for Soult's army, by the way of the Puerto de Baños; but Wellesley, thinking that this Marshal was not coming up in such strength, as it was afterwards discovered he was, resolved to carry his single army against him, while Cuesta undertook to watch King Joseph's army, and, should he be forced to retire, had promised to bring away the allied wounded left in hospital at Talavera. Relying on this, Sir Arthur marched the British army away on the 3rd of August, and on the 4th reached Oropesa. On the latter day Soult arrived at Naval-Moral, Joseph with Jourdain and Sebastiani came up to Valdemoro, and Victor to Maquedo, so that the narrow valley of the Tagus now swarmed with troops; and thus the strategy of Wellesley's movement against Madrid afforded this additional advantage to the common cause, that all the provinces to the north and westward were free and open to the patriots to carry out their designs. Wilson had quitted the passes of the mountains on Soult's approach, and now threatened Madrid from the side of the Guadarama, while Vanegas, after occupying Toledo and Aranjuez, had even sent patroles as far as Madrid. The intrusive King accordingly sent General Sebastiani to Toledo, and ordered Marshal Victor to fall back on Sta Olalla, to drive away Wilson and his Lusitanian Legion, who, however, after the battle of Talavera, had hastily retired through the Puerta de Baños and out of Spain.

### 39. COMBATS AT ARZOBISPO AND ALMONACID.

On reaching Oropesa, Wellesley learned that Soult, instead of only having his own division of 25,000 men, with whom he might have contended, was advancing with Mortier and Ney in company, and would soon be upon him with 50,000 men. At the same moment, Cuesta learned the same facts, having intercepted some despatches to Marshal Jourdain, and, without communicating with his colleague, he at once abandoned all his promises. Instead of holding the ground at Talavera and protecting the wounded, he fell back upon the British at Oropesa with his whole army. Wellesley once more endeavoured to concert operations with the Spanish General. It was for the last

time, for, finding him still impracticable and wrong-headed, he resolved to act entirely for himself, and on his own resources. He instantly collected such carts as he could, and by these means brought away as many of his wounded as he was able from Talavera, but was, nevertheless, obliged to leave 1,500 to the compassion of the enemy; and, to the credit of his adversary be it said, Marshal Victor showed them every attention and kindness, though, of course, they became prisoners of war. The next step of Sir Arthur was to send off Craufurd to Almaraz to secure the bridge from any attempts of Marshal Soult to interpose between him and the river; and he then moved his army with all expedition across the Tagus by the bridge there. As soon as the British left Oropesa, Cuesta followed them to the same place, and, having barricaded the bridge, prepared to hold it, while Wellesley traversed the mountain passes which intervene between it and Almaraz. On the 6th of August, Mortier came down to the banks of the Tagus, opposite to where the Spanish army was posted, and evinced a determination to force a passage. Having made his reconnoissances, he despatched Caulaincourt with some dragoons across a ford upon the flank of the Spaniards, who stood firm, and immediately threw themselves into square, while the cavalry of Albuquerque in line fell upon that of the French; but, in the meanwhile, a battalion contrived to break through the barricades, and the Spaniards fled in all directions, abandoning 30 pieces of cannon. Cuesta now, at the command of the Junta, relinquished the command of the army, and the task of collecting the fugitives was intrusted to General Equia, who established a trysting-place at Deleytosa on the 13th, where he was enabled to collect a force, and occupy and defend the important pass of Meza del Ebor.

Vanegas, as soon as he found that Sebastiani was marching against him, retired on Almonacid, where he took up a position, flanked by an old Moorish castle, and hoped, with 30,000 men, to check any force which the intrusive King could collect against him. Sebastiani, however, marched forward almost unopposed, crossed the bridge of Toledo on the 10th in the evening, and the next morning sent forward Leval's division to attack Vanegas. Some Germans and Poles, who occupied the left of the French position, soon carried their point, while four French regiments, under Generals Dessoles and Godinot, dispersed the enemy's centre and right. The Spaniards attempted to make a stand at the castle, which was naturally strong, but they were defeated, with a loss of 6,000 or 8,000 killed or prisoners, and 16 guns.

After this, Joseph returned in no small triumph to Madrid. There was no Spanish army left to harass him, and, though he was required to exchange Jourdain for Soult as Major-General, by Napoleon's order, yet he had the corps of Soult, Ney, Mortier, and Victor under his hand to bring the kingdom into subjection. The British Commander-in-Chief at this time removed to the frontier of Spain and Portugal, being resolved to have no further co-operation with the Spanish armies; and on the 3rd of September he cantoned his troops in and about Merida, an excellent position,

whence he could cover at the same time Portugal and the south of Spain. The Cortes now proposed to confer upon him the supreme command of these armies, but he was unwilling to undertake the task, for, he said, "I have fished in many troubled waters, but Spanish troubled waters I will never try again."

#### 40. WELLINGTON ORDERS THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE LINES OF LISBON ON TORRES VEDRAS.

The battle of Talavera having put to a practical test the value to be henceforth attached to Spanish co-operation, it became apparent to Sir Arthur Wellesley (who had just been raised to the peerage by his Sovereign for that victory, and was for the future to be spoken of by the title of Lord Wellington), that it was no longer prudent to trust to armies which were wanting in proper organisation, discipline, and skilful leaders, and fully demonstrated to be utterly inefficient against an enemy. At the same time, the state of affairs in the north of Europe, and the recent success of Napoleon at Wagram, afforded the clearest evidence that French troops would now be poured into the Peninsula with the most lavish hand, in order to insure its effectual subjugation. The contest, therefore, henceforth, manifestly depended on the British troops alone, and on the efficiency which could be thrown into the means of defensive warfare. Wellington, accordingly, sat himself down to the task of solving the mighty problem ; how best to resist aggression from an overwhelming power, having regard to the facilities afforded him by the seaboard of Portugal for unlimited supplies, and for the invaluable co-operation of the naval service, whose energy and prowess might be turned to account, either to assist in offensive operations, or to cover and secure the escape of the army, if it should, in the last resort, be obliged to be carried back again to the shores of Great Britain.

Lisbon was in every respect admirably adapted for the base of British military operations, situated as it is upon a magnificent estuary, capable of holding any amount of shipping. The Commander-in-Chief, therefore, concluded that his first object was to insure the defence of all the approaches upon that capital, from both Portuguese Estremadura and the Alemtejo, and to prepare the means of disputing the ground by artificial obstructions against an enemy's advance, if he should be obliged to withdraw from the open country before a too powerful force ; and he deemed with great judgment, that Great Britain could here best decide the issue of the contest, which was now imminent, between his army and the hitherto irresistible legions of the French Empire. With these views, Lord Wellington, while his army rested in their cantonments on the Guadiana, repaired with his Chief Engineer, Colonel Fletcher, and his Quartermaster-General, Colonel George Murray, to make a close reconnaissance of the country on both sides of the Tagus, which covered all the approaches to the capital, and which, as extending from sea to sea, afforded the peculiar characteristic that it could

neither be turned nor passed. This tract, for the most part mountainous, is singularly favourable for purposes of defence, more especially for a British army, with its power of extensive maritime co-operation. The Tagus was a mighty artery up which gun-boats of considerable size could navigate, and it was a natural obstacle to an attacking force, as it hampered their action and divided their numbers. The portion to the southward, in front of Setubal, was of a milder character of elevation and intersection than that to the northward; but the approaches on that side only led down to the banks of a broad expanse of water, across which no enemy could hope to reach Lisbon, in face of the British navy.

Between the north bank of the Tagus and the sea, below the point where that great river, from its increased depth and breadth, becomes, in a military sense, impassable, four great paved roads lead to Lisbon. Three of these roads wind up the hills, through strongly-defined mountain passes at Mafra, Montechique, and Bucellas, and the fourth leads under the high ground along the river shore. The plan proposed by the engineer was to block up the advance in front of all these "passes" with formidable detached redoubts, and to connect the passes themselves with a nearly continuous epaulement, so as to form an effective barrier, that should check an enemy's advance, and enable the defenders to retire within a third line across a small nook of the Peninsula which constituted an innermost enceinte upon the coast itself, where was constructed a sort of citadel, within which an army might be protected in its embarkation, or in case of being successively driven out of all the other defences. Nature had done much to assist the projected design of an entrenched camp in this locality.

The little river San Lorenzo, adjoining the pass of Mafra on the extreme left, looking north, presented a deep, rugged, and in many parts impracticable ravine, beyond which the Serra de Chypre commanded prominently the road, as it advanced towards it from Torres Vedras. The next adjoining pass was protected by a mountain called Cabeça de Montechique, the acclivity of which was very abrupt, and capable of good defence. The important operation of blocking up the road here was sufficiently simple of execution, but it was also necessary to place redoubts on the commanding positions, in order to enfilade the two paved roads leading through the pass from Torres Vedras on one side and Sobral on the other. The interval between the two principal passes was to be occupied by a good parallel road of communication for the convenience of the defenders, and this also required to be protected by strong isolated works. The next "pass" in order is that of Bucellas, which is of the strongest character and of the easiest imaginable defence, for the road through it runs by the side of a stream, which here forces its way through two high and steep mountains. The paved road leading into the pass, from Sobral, over the Monte Agraça, which is a very strong bulwark or mountain buttress, affords means for the most determined resistance. From Bucellas rightward, towards the Tagus, an extremely serrated or broken ridge,

with scarcely any interruption, runs in a direct line for two miles, until the heights fall back to the right hand, and subside into the low ground adjoining the river, which they overlook and command. There are here some features in the landscape, both in front and rear, which require to be rendered available in order to render them efficient for defence. A hill between Quintella and Villa-Longa was selected for a strong redoubt in rear, and about five miles in front a position for troops is afforded by an independent ridge beginning at the river bank, close to Allandra, and running thence by Aruda, back to Monte Agraca and Torres Vedras, at which latter place the high ground runs behind the Zizandra to the sea. This was the ground selected for strong isolated forts, which, as far as time would permit them to be completed, were to be such as should demand from an attacking enemy regular siege operations. The most advanced line occupied 25 miles in a direct course, while the interior continuous line displayed about 22 miles of front. Such an extent seemed to require for its defence nearly twice the amount of men which Lord Wellington could expect to assemble, and this, in truth, constituted the only weakness of the Lines of Lisbon. Nearly 50 miles of position with about 150 forts, and probably 600 pieces of artillery, required a large force; but the occasion was peculiar. This could not be regarded as a fortress requiring a garrison commensurate to its walls; it was rather an entrenched camp, placed upon naturally strong positions for defence, and upon so grand a scale as, independent of garrisons, to cover an army of 20,000 men, in every respect equipped for field operations.

These "Lines," then, being thus far reconnoitred, appeared to fulfil all the conditions required for the protection of Lisbon, by the aid of a naval and military force combined, and it was at once recommended by Wellington to the British Government for adoption for this end and object. Although the enemy threatened no immediate movement upon the capital, yet it was resolved to commence without delay the innermost line, for protecting an embarkation, lest the French Marshals should combine and march rapidly against the British army before the outward lines could be rendered of sufficient strength in their entire extent to keep them at bay. A place was sought out near St. Juliens, at the mouth of the Tagus, for the innermost enceinte and point for embarkation of the British army, in case of disaster or discomfiture. This corner of the Peninsula is distant about 27 miles behind the pass of Mafra, and there is here a small bay about 200 yards in length, partially sheltered from the ocean, in which boats might be collected; although, under certain winds, such a sea rolls into it for days together, that often not one can be launched upon it. Accordingly, the works required to cover the embarkation of an army had to regard these three objects:—1st, protection to the entire army, with all its artillery and stores, during an uncertain period of inclement weather, with the means of at length embarking in boats; 2nd, an extent which diminished numbers might defend, should

gales of wind come on, after a portion only of the army had embarked; and lastly, means enabling a rear-guard to maintain itself to the last moment required.

With these objects, a line of continuous epaulement was traced near the village of Ocyras, 3,000 yards in extent, which was to be raised so as to enclose an entrenched camp of a limited extent; while an outer line extended from Passo d'Arcos, on the Tagus, to the Tower of Janquera, on the coast. This latter was calculated to fulfil the first condition, and the inner one the second; but again, within this innermost enceinte, Fort St. Juliens, at the mouth of the Tagus (whose ramparts and deep ditches defied an escalade), was armed and strengthened so that, in conjunction with the Tower of Janquera, it might effectually protect the embarkation of a rear guard, should the outer defences fall into the hands of an enemy. On the opposite shore of the Tagus, another embarking place was prepared near the village of Almeda, which, at the same time, was calculated to impede the establishment of batteries to play upon the shipping from the side of Setubal, and could likewise keep open the communication of the river from the sea. Passo d'Arcos was 24 miles distant from the second "Line," and two long days' marches distant from the outer "Line" at Torres Vedras; but measures were suggested to render all the principal routes leading thence only practicable for an enemy's advance, as passing through Lisbon, where means were taken to retard the foe, in order that more time might be spared for the embarkation. The city was 12 miles in rear of Villa-Longa, 15 from Bucellas, and 12 from Montechique; but from the side of the Lorenzo river and Mafra there still remained one road leading direct to Passa d'Arcos. Two out of the four roads of access could be commanded for some distance by the ships in the river; the other approaches are narrow hollow ways open to many defensive expedients. The capital itself is of considerable size, and advantageously situated for defence and subsistence: the buildings which compose it are for the most part substantially built of stone, their doors and windows being secured with strong iron gratings, originally designed with the buildings themselves. Every encouragement was afforded to the inhabitants to avail themselves of the skill of the engineers to defend their houses; and materials to form street barricades and other impediments to the approach of an enemy's troops were provided; but care was at the same time taken that the inhabitants should not be frightened into an idea that they were to be called upon to undergo a frightful siege, or such an endurance of trials as had recently signalled and destroyed Zaragoza.

A remarkable peculiarity attaching to the lines of Torres Vedras was the mountainous projection impinging at right angles on their front. This was the Serra called the Monte Junto, a lofty rocky mass stretching forward 15 miles in front of the centre, between Torres Vedras and Sobral, with the former of which it was connected by a ridge or spur, called Serra de Baraguodo. This is of so rugged and precipitous a form as to preclude the march of an army with artillery over its summit. It necessarily, therefore, divided

any plan of attack into two portions, and impeded the assailants very considerably in moving troops from the right to the left of their line, while the British army could move within the Lines from Torres Vedras to the Monte Agraça, and thence by Arruda to Alhandra to the succour of divisions either of the right or left by a very short flank march. Moreover, the only advance from the north of Monte Junto must cross the lower Serra de Baraguado, which could not be passed without much delay and an exposure of force that would very much injure the operation.

A most complete system of signals, under the guidance of experienced naval officers, was ordered to be established on points uniting extensive views with the greatest security, by means of which orders might be transmitted and intelligence communicated to head-quarters with the utmost celerity from the most distant points of the lines.

A memorandum from Wellington to Colonel Fletcher, dated the 20th of October, and detailing the strategical principle on which he desired the co-operation of the skill of the engineers in his projected camp, is a document which for perspicuity and forethought at once places the British Commander-in-Chief in the front rank of military leaders. As in some degree contemporary with the occupation of the Isle of Lob-Awe by Napoleon, it may supply a subject of comparison between the works of these two mighty commanders. The objects of both may be stated as nearly the same, to form a *place-d'armée* and base for future operations; but with the one it was only an expedient adopted on the spur of the moment to obtain a *pied-à-terre*, from which to strike a blow against his adversary, after the reverse of Elchingen; while with the other it was a well-considered resolve, adopted long before the arrival of any necessity, on the sound defensive principle of enabling a weaker body to restrain a stronger,—probably the most important problem of the art of war. The Lines of Lisbon may, perhaps, with greater accuracy, be compared with the *ne plus ultra* lines of Marshal Villars, erected at Bouchain, in 1711; although Massena did not evince the abilities of Marlborough, by drawing his adversary beyond their protection, and overthrowing him in the open field. The lines of Torres Vedras are also a perpetual monument to the honour of the skill of British engineers. Art and labour were here most judiciously exerted to improve every natural advantage, to strengthen and cover the weaker points, to diminish the length of accessible front, so as to make it more commensurate with the strength of the defending force, to facilitate the communications of troops within, and to cramp, confine, interrupt, and embarrass the movements of assailants without; in short, they were well devised to afford such power of concentration that at no single point should a division engage, but under the favourable circumstances of a strong front, secure flanks, facility of intercourse, and an open and unassailable rear. The redoubts were, generally speaking, but *ramparts affording cover sufficient for guns where the fire of artillery was demanded for some specific object, and in which militia and*

ill-organised peasantry, or *ordenanza*, might fight with confidence. These, though totally unfit to act in the open field, had innate courage and patriotic desire sufficient to resist the enemies of their country, behind earthworks, and to aid in the practice of artillery against a distant enemy. The artificial defences of the lines altogether presented the most favourable example of the first application of the science of the engineer in furtherance of, though invariably subservient to, the field tactics of an army; for there was no continuity of *épaulement* in the entire extent of the lines requiring a single efficient brigade to be kept out of its ordinary column of march, and the army remained a compact manœuvring body, totally independent of the fortifications. The name of Robert Fletcher, as connected with the Lines of Lisbon, deserves an immortality in military annals for the ability and diligence with which the British engineers, under his guidance, rendered a naturally strong position absolutely impregnable; so that one of the greatest generals of the day deemed an attack on it utterly hopeless, and never even seriously attempted it.

Lord Wellington was too wary in his nature to trust to one obstacle in war. He had an eye not only on the resources of his own army to defend, but on the means of devising impediments and obstacles to restrain the advance of his enemy. He would not, therefore, confide in the simple enthusiasm of the Portuguese people, nor on the free promises of the local authorities, in which he had been so frequently deceived. He therefore insisted with the Regency, that his own authority, as Marshal-General of Portugal, should be independent and absolute, above all local government, in the emergency which the construction of the Lines contemplated. He required, moreover, that they should permit him to enforce the ancient military laws of the realm, by which all men were to be called upon to be enrolled to bear arms in defence of their King and country; and he also demanded that the native inhabitants should be compelled to destroy their corn mills, remove their boats, break down their bridges, lay waste their fields, abandon their dwellings, and remove their property, on whatever line of country the invaders should advance. Under these stipulations upwards of 30,000 regular soldiers, armed, clothed, and paid by Great Britain, joined the allied army under the General's standard. About 26,000 militia had, in addition, muskets and bayonets supplied to them, that they might be enabled to take the field, while a cloud of *ordenanzas* filled the mountains and villages. The general principle here laid down for resistance against the enemy was, that all the best troops that could be assembled should oppose his advance without risking a general action, while the irregular troops should close round his flanks and rear; and that the country through which he passed should be wasted as though the locusts of the prophet Joel had passed over it, and had left a "desolate wilderness."

## 41. WELLINGTON REORGANISES THE BRITISH COMMISSARIAT.

The deceitfulness of Spanish promises, and the proofs afforded during the Talavera campaign that Spanish reverses had neither alarmed nor diminished the preposterous presumption of their general officers, nor taught them ordinary truth and prudence in co-operating with their allies, determined the British Commander-in-Chief never again to expose his army to so much jeopardy and so nearly to starvation in the field, by trusting to any other Commissariat than his own. Alison makes these remarks upon the campaign : "For a month that followed the battle of Talavera the distress of the troops from a deficiency of supplies had become insupportable. The Junta of Truxillo had failed in their contract to supply 240,000 rations to the British army, and Cuesta had refused to lend mules, of which he had some hundreds with his army idle. The troops only received ten days' bread and a little meat during the month that followed the 22nd of July, and the horses of the cavalry and artillery no more than three deliveries of forage, while the officers sustained themselves by purchasing, at a shameful cost, the provisions which had accumulated in the hands of the Spanish soldiery." The General-in-Chief therefore, no sooner cantoned his army on the Guadiana than he applied all the resources of his vigorous mind to a reorganisation of the very imperfect system which had prevailed up to this period for the supply of an army in actual warfare in the field ; and, although no record of the changes he now introduced has survived the annihilation of all British military memoranda under the injudicious economies of the long peace, either in print or in the archives of Government, yet the tradition hangs on the minds of the few survivors of the Peninsula contest, that at the end of the war the system which was now matured by Wellington was "understood to have been rendered so nearly perfect, that on the restoration of the Bourbons, Baron Dupin was sent over from France to inquire into the arrangements of the Duke of Wellington's Commissariat, which had proved to be so productive of military efficiency."

From the evidence extant in print of the examinations of some of the old campaigners, I deduce this summary of Lord Wellington's plan. The vast commercial navy of Great Britain was resorted to for the purpose of bringing, on the requisition of the Commissary-in-Chief, the products of the entire world to the mouths of the Tagus and the Douro and Oporto, and later in the war to the ports of Bilbao and Passages, in the Bay of Biscay ; by which means corn and flour from the Baltic and the United States, cattle from Barbary and South America, hay and salt meat from the United Kingdom, stockfish from Newfoundland, tea and coffee from the West Indies, rum, brandy, and even arrack from distant Colonies of the East and West, were all received by Deputy-Commissaries-General, who immediately expedited them by means of boat conveyance up the rivers, to the great interior entrepôts at Abrantes, Lamego and

other large towns. Here another Commissariat staff received the goods in charge, and, by means of the native bullock-cars of the country and vehicles of various kinds, they were enabled to send forward, by the most practicable communications they could discover, to the great magazines formed at Celorico, Castello Branca, Estremoz, &c. From these dépôts advantage was taken of the peculiarities of ordinary Spanish traffic to employ what may be termed pack-mules. A Capitaz Mayor or Capitaz (as he was called) had three or four, or in some instances long strings of mules, his own property, which moved backwards and forwards in continual streams, bringing up supplies to every brigade, and even to some regiments, and carrying back to the dépôts, where hospitals were also established, the sick and inefficient from the very extremities of the army. The hardy and sure-footed animals employed carried heavy loads over mountains and through passes inaccessible by any other means of communication, and by this resource the Assistants and Deputy-Assistant-Commissaries attached to the army in the field had the power of keeping up a continuous and regular supply for the troops immediately under their supervision in every remote locality. I do not believe that the British army, in all their marches and counter-marches was ever left, for any unreasonable period, in arrear of regular rations; nor was the enemy often able to interrupt this arrangement; for the animals, being the private property of the muleteer, whose remuneration depended on the safe delivery of the load, they were sure to be well looked after and preserved from capture by every means in his power.

This system was probably a very costly one, and at its commencement much time and efficiency were sacrificed to the endeavour to introduce economy, and more especially to establish order in the accounts \*; but, although this was difficult, yet it obtained the ordeal of supervision and correction from the master mind. All custody of coin was removed from the Commissariat and transferred to the military chest, and the officers of the former branch were instructed only to pay by cheques, treasure being supplied to the chest by bankers, under a perfectly independent control. The officers of the Commissariat were thus restricted to mere *supply* and *issue*, and it was found that these duties occupied every moment of their time when the troops were in movement, and prevented much peculation.

The old system thus superseded dated as far back as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and is said to have originated with her celebrated General, the Earl of Essex. The officer at the head of military supply was at that period styled "The Proviant Master," and conceived to be "as necessary and useful, if not more so, in the field than either a general or a treasurer." The armies, however, do not appear to have been well supplied in those days, when luxurious abundance at one moment was followed by long periods of dearth and famine, and when frequent mutinies of

\* To afford some idea of the magnitude of this expense. I have heard that at one time the floating unsettled account current of the Commissary-in-Chief with the British Treasury amounted to 57 millions sterling!

the soldiery, for want of pay and provisions, were the common consequences, whole armies being dissipated or driven to horrid extactions, from the want of a regular supply of food. In the great civil war Commissaries for the supply of victuals came into story; but the "fantasied men of warre" were bad husbands of the resources of war in those days, and very much enriched themselves by their depredations, altogether neglecting their own soldiers. Macaulay has "damned to fame" the chief Commissary of the armies and fleets of King William, when "a crowd of negligent or ravenous functionaries plundered, starved, and poisoned the unfortunate soldier." It is not to the credit of our greatest British General, the Duke of Marlborough, that even when in the field he "reserved a handsome percentage upon the expense of the subsistence of the armies under his command." Subsequently, in the 18th century, officers in command of regiments, and even sometimes only of companies, were allowed a fixed sum of money to supply "their men, and were permitted to apply all savings which they could effect (called off-reckonings) for their own benefit." At this period, also, commissaries were allowed to be at the same time contractors as well as disbursers, and enormous fortunes were thus made from the food of the fighting men. The Commissariat at this period only acted as a sort of wholesale merchant to commanding officers, who would often, on account of its cheapness, require an article of subsistence to be supplied that was injurious to the soldier's health. Thus, in 1758, Lord Ligonier reports "that more men were lost by the obligation to live upon rye-bread than from the sword of the enemy."

Similar practices prevailed, and to a greater extent, in the French armies of Louis XIV. and XV. Royal favourites received from these Sovereigns such appointments as Paymaster for private debts to the King; and officers in command of armies, emboldened by impunity and debased by example, entered into collusions with contractors to cheat the State; and one of them, who deserved to be hung, would probably have been executed but that Madame de Pompadour interposed, saying, "Qu'on ne pend point un homme qui peut donner cent mille écus."

Although many attempts were made to correct such abuses in Germany, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, in excusing himself to the British Government for the shortcomings of his campaign in 1761, asserts that "his hands were tied by the defects of the Commissariat, which was not sufficient to fulfil its functions of collecting subsistence and bringing it up for distribution among the army." But the reforms introduced into the British service at this period were all again hastily abolished at the conclusion of the war, and, on the outbreak of the American contest, there existed no known machinery for the supply of an army in the field. So little, indeed, have statesmen been impressed with the supreme importance of the "proviant" to an army, that when Moore and Wellesley's armies were first despatched to the Peninsula, it will be seen, from the instructions extant in print, that

while the most ample details were given with regard to the composition and capabilities of a military staff, not even a passing allusion to a Commissariat is to be found in the lengthy documents which issued from the Horse Guards. The correspondence of both these Generals with the Government complains seriously of the want of experience and ability of the Commissariat, "for that the people who manage it are incapable of managing anything out of a counting-house."

Napoleon very early called the attention of the French Directory to the defects of the "agencie civile" of his army; but the wholesale system of pillage and rapine which resulted in the French armies from the cruel and barbarous, extravagant and wasteful, doctrine of the school of the Revolution, that "war should pay its own expenses," has incurred for that military service the bitter hatred of every population among whom they were thrown; and it may be safely asserted that while pillage and robbery exhausted a land, they could never, after all, obtain for the French armies the advantages of a good Commissariat. A regular and continuous flow of provisions to the very extremities of a military force serving in the field is a problem only to be solved by an honest and well-intentioned administration.

The prejudices which have been raised against the Commissariat service in all armies has resulted from their not being included in the position and consideration of officers, and this omission has been of serious consequence to the service; for, only looked upon as mere tradesmen dealing in provisions, commissaries have often been treated with unmerited ignominy and scorn by military men of all ranks, who never associated with them as equals, and if regular supplies failed, frequently treated them as public defaulters. It might not be reasonable or proper that this class should enjoy substantive military rank, which might bring them by seniority to the command of troops in the field, but a relative civil rank, in order to remove them above insult, appears indispensable to the service, and one not exceeding that of Brigadier-General has accordingly been conferred in the British service on Commissary-Generals, descending in the scale to that of subaltern officers; but this is a niggard and too restricted concession. The head of the Commissariat requires to be a man not only of much statistical knowledge, of immense energy, and great clearness of head, but he should also be so high in the estimation of the General in command as to be intrusted with much that is most secret with regard to the distinction and object of the expedition and amount of force to be employed, upon occasion, and this places him in general consideration far above Brigadier-Generals. Vauchelle very properly remarks: "Sans subsistances assurées une armée ne peut rien entreprendre. Les plus habiles conceptions, le plus ardent courage, la plus sévère discipline, tout vient échouer contre cet obstacle." A Commissary General-in-Chief should, in my estimation, be selected for his post, not according to any seniority of rank, but, like the General of an army, out of a numerous list of qualified

persons as the man most eminent for his presumed superior qualifications and fitness. The French attach, very properly, great importance to this high officer, and Napoleon admitted Count Daru to his intimate confidence. There is no reason to doubt but that Wellington similarly honoured the intelligence and probity of the officer to whom he intrusted his reforms, and the name of Sir Robert Kennedy deserves to be dear to posterity for his deeds, although he was never rewarded, as he ought to have been, with the great Cross of the Bath.

Anecdotes are told of Marshal Saxe, Napoleon, and other great leaders, to the effect of the importance of the stomach to the issue of a battle, and no man of ordinary sense can doubt it. The office of Proviant-master, therefore, is worthy of all consideration. The well-known anecdote of Sir Thomas Pieton having threatened to hang a Commissary for having failed in his duties, and Lord Wellington meeting the complaint by the assurance that if the General said he would hang him, he was the man to do it; and the many most unwarrantable vagaries of inferior officers in command, who have placed in arrest Commissariat officers of intelligence far superior to their own, could never have taken place if the Proviant service were composed of a higher class of officers and given a higher consideration among military men in general than it has hitherto received.

The constitution of modern armies and the peculiar character of modern warfare render it of the very first importance that soldiers should be restrained from the excesses consequent upon hunger, and should be well looked after in the regular supply and distribution of their food, and in its wholesome quality. Above every other, this is most essential to the British soldier, to whose physical condition a regular supply of nutritious sustenance is indispensable. The Spaniard, whose ordinary fare is vegetable and farinaceous, can march for days on a few sticks of garlic and a crust of bread. An Indian sepoy can exist on the water in which the rice has been boiled. A lump of oilcake will support a Russian; a pipe of tobacco and a cup of coffee with " schnaps," will reconcile a German to his duties. A Frenchman, whose skill in the culinary art can render any edible substance palatable, will accommodate himself on active service to the most frugal and least tempting fare, while his indomitable self-esteem does not allow his spirit to be depressed by any wants which he can persuade himself are indispensable to success and military glory; but the habit of endurance under hunger tells very differently indeed upon an Englishman, who can bear privations with the most admirable fortitude, and whose courage will rather increase than fail under ordinary difficulties, whose health and discipline will withstand in a surprising degree the effects of the most opposite climates, but who will break down altogether if his rations are faulty and irregular, or, for even the most limited period, fail altogether. The British soldier looks more to the supply of meat than bread; the Frenchman, on the contrary, looks first and chiefly to the supply of farinaceous food, and immediately on pitching a

camp sets himself to erect bakeries, and rarely, if ever, fails in a constant supply of soft well-baked bread. The German, both of the cavalry and infantry, is remarkably provident and careful, when he can get his rations, to secure a good meal to his horse and himself before he commences his march, and will be always seen to rise up betimes before he begins a march, in order to get a hot cup of coffee for himself, and to give a good feed to his horse before he sets off—a practice which well deserves being followed by every campaigner; for I have myself frequently observed the German hussar fresh and efficient when his lazy comrade was utterly exhausted, both in his body and his horse, before the march was far advanced.

In conclusion, it is only necessary to say one word upon the folly of imposing on the Commissariat in the field too many forms and returns. It is not always easy to procure vouchers and receipts, according to established forms, when you are in motion and in bivouac, and some very simple checks might be devised sufficient to provide against extravagance and waste. A French writer, however, says with truth: "Demander dans l'état de guerre et en campagne tout ce qui se demande dans l'état tranquille et commode de la paix, c'est de vouloir rien d'exacte et de vrai: demander seulement le possible, car il n'y est dans l'administration militaire que cette seule garantie; au lieu de nous fatiguer à surveiller la probité des agens et l'honneur des officiers, appliquons nous à la bien choisir."

#### 42. RISE OF THE GUERRILLA SYSTEM IN SPAIN.

As the Spanish armies were successively defeated and dispersed, the soldiers, "their occupation gone," wandered about and readily flocked to the standard of any leader who offered them an opportunity of covering past disgrace, or of leading a life of greater license under the cloak of patriotism. The French, after their first successes, had been exposed to great insecurity of person and the most intolerable privations, and accordingly spread themselves over the country singly or in small bodies as well for subsistence as to keep the inhabitants in terror and subjection. Various acts of aggression and violence were the natural consequence of the independent action of men with arms in their hands over a defenceless people. These were angrily resisted, and blood often flowed until a deadly strife arose. Many of the peasants were obliged, in consequence, to flee to the mountains to escape retaliation from the French, until by degrees bands of desperate men collected together for defence, which gradually led to an extended and organised system of combination, under which the country people were enabled to protect their homesteads and their women from oppression, and soon to assume the offensive; all weak parties of the French, stragglers or isolated marauders, were frequently encountered and slain; convoys were cut off, magazines rifled, and the communications everywhere interrupted between the French head-quarters and their outposts. Hundreds of young men without any uniforms

united themselves into regiments, under acknowledged leaders selected from amongst themselves, and these, having a perfect knowledge of the country, could assemble or disperse at pleasure, and at the shortest notice. From engaging in this petty warfare, they obtained the appellation of Guerrillas, or little war-makers, being a diminutive of the Spanish word *guerra*, and distinguished them from regular soldiers.

The rugged mountains around Zaragoza became the first mother of a guerrilla brood. Baget, Perera, Pedroza, and Theobaldo collected their miguelets, (as they are termed in Catalonia and Arragon, in the Sierra de Guarrá, a lofty range containing the sources of the Cinca, from out of whose inaccessible valleys they sallied and harassed the French communications between Zaragoza and the frontier, maintaining, in the beginning a defence, and an intercourse with the Governor of Lerida, while it was yet in the hands of the Spanish regular troops. A leader, named Gayan, in the mountains of Montalvan, who occupied a convent on a high rock called Nuestra Señora del Aguilar, pushed his band down the valley of the Xiloca, on the right of the Ebro, and another, named Villa Campa, established himself near Catalayud, and interrupted the communications thence with Madrid. The younger Mina, called the Student, vexed all the country between Tudela and Pampeluna; and Renovalles, a Spanish General, took the command of the insurrection in the high Pyrenean valleys, where he intercepted and surprised many French detachments. He established a principal post at a convent in an inaccessible position, called San Juan de la Peña, in which he placed a subordinate leader, named Saraza, who menaced all the country round Jaca. These Partidas, as they were sometimes called, at length roused the attention of General Suchet commanding the east of Spain, who commenced by dislodging Saraza in June, and afterwards, on the 19th, he effected the destruction of the entrenched camp of Gayan, who was pursued until his corps dispersed; but Saraza, rallying his men, descended upon the French on the 23rd of August, and put to the sword a detachment of 70 men, and Villa Campa, rallying Gayan's troops, formed a new entrenched camp at Tremendal; while Mina continued successfully to intercept all the communications with Pampeluna, so that General d'Agoult, the Governor, was at length suspected and even accused of being privy to his successes. Suchet, however, eventually captured Mina, but his uncle, named Espoz of Mina, immediately took the nephew's command, and soon became the most celebrated and conspicuous of the Partidas chiefs.

In a short time deserters from the French and even from the British armies joined the ranks of the Guerrillas — vagabonds, attracted by the unbridled license which such service afforded, and alike indifferent to the call of patriotism and the rights of property. In fact, many of them became rather thieves than anything else, until these robber-bands could not suffer any other Partida to act in what he termed his own district. One of the first exploits

of Espoz of Mina was to slay the commander of a neighbouring band of this character. Their exasperation against the French became habitually ferocious, and the life of any one, friend or enemy, was alike valueless in their estimation. The treatment which the soldiers experienced at their hands made them in retaliation equally violent; for the soldier naturally becomes cruel in protracted warfare, and the inhabitants of both sexes, young and old, became the victims of violence in return for the cruelties which had been practised on their comrades. In the end, the Supreme Junta, acting as a Regency, desirous of pushing the system to its utmost extent, established secret Guerilla Juntas in every province, enjoining on them the express duties of harassing the enemy in every possible way, sweeping the country of stores and provisions, and collecting them in secret places, under district inspectors and paymasters. Under this arrangement, Franquissette and Palarea appeared in La Mancha; El Principe, Saornil, and Juan Abril, near Segovia; the Empecinado kept the hills of Guadalaxara above Madrid; Longa and Campillo harassed Biscay; Arnon, Merino, and the Friar Sapia appeared about Burgos and Soria; Escайдron held the Asturias between Santander and Oviedo; and Porlier the mountains of Galicia; while Don Julian Sanchez hung upon the flanks and rear of the French armies which were manoeuvring in the kingdom of Leon, and threatening to invade Portugal.

#### 43. THIRD SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF GERONA — A FRENCH SQUADRON DESTROYED AT CETTE.

The results of Spanish efforts in the "tentied field" had very generally proved disastrous, as already shown, yet the spirit of this wondrous people did not flag, and, as we have just explained, a new and original system had arisen for the national defence peculiar to the geographical conformation of the Peninsula, and suited to the enterprising character of the people of the land. But, while entire armies disbanded at the very first shot, the inhabitants of cities and towns maintained them against the enemy with a resolution and chivalrous devotion rarely equalled, and never surpassed, in the records of ancient and modern warfare. The name of Gerona has nearly attained to the celebrity of that of Zaragoza. The story of its memorable siege would fill a volume, and the sufferings and endurance of its inhabitants are more akin to romance than to actual reality.\* Gerona was more of a fortress than the capital of Arragon, and in its time had undergone many sieges. On this occasion, however, the defence was more due to the superstition of the people than to the art of the military engineer. The honour of the command of the town and principality was formally bestowed on the patron saint, Narciss, who was nominated Generalissimo of the forces by sea and land. A General's staff,

\* Maxwell.

sword, and belt, all richly ornamented, were deposited on the shrine of the saint in token of his high supreme office. Like the crusaders of old, the Geronians took the cross, and swore they would resist to the uttermost. The men enrolled themselves under the command of Alvarez, and the women, both maids and matrons, united themselves into an association, called that of Sta Barbara, to emulate their sisters at Zaragoza by performing all the duties which lay within their power.\* In June 1808 the town had repelled a *coup de main* attempted against it by a French division under General Duhesme; and in the following July the Spanish garrison, assisted by two British frigates, under the command of Lord Cochrane, not only resisted a siege in form, but the French General had been obliged to leave behind him in the trenches his artillery and stores, and to march away, after considerable loss, to Barcelona. In the early part of this year St. Cyr had come down to the relief of that fortress in which Duhesme with his whole force was shut up by the Spanish armies under Vivas and Reding, while a knot of Somatenes or armed peasants infested the wooded hills on every side. But St. Cyr defeated the Spanish armies in an action near Iqualada on the 17th of February, and all regular war in Catalonia would have been ended, but that the fortresses of Tortosa, Tarragona, and Gerona still remained in possession of the Spaniards. It was about this time that Suchet arrived to take the command-in-chief of the French army in the east of Spain, with orders to undertake the third siege of Gerona. It was to be specially intrusted, by order of Napoleon, to General Verdier, who commenced operations before the place on the 1st of June. Notwithstanding the extreme vigilance and admirable arrangements of Admiral Lord Collingwood, commanding the British fleet in the Mediterranean, a valuable French convoy, under Admiral Cosmao, had succeeded in eluding the blockade and in throwing into Barcelona, on the 7th of May, a supply of stores and ammunition, which enabled the besieging force to commence their duties before Gerona with a prodigal supply of everything.

The garrison amounted to 3,400 men, and was commanded by a general of distinction and trust, Don Mariano Alvarez. Since the period of the former siege, the fortifications had been considerably strengthened, and, as the only existing means of approach for artillery passed through the town, the first requisite was to open a practicable path for it. A good spirit prevailed in the garrison, and, when the summons was sent in on the 6th of May, the heroic Governor issued an order of the day containing these words: "Whoever speaks of a capitulation or surrender shall be instantly put to death." The town stands at the confluence of the rivers Ter and Onega, at the foot of a gorge or deep declivity under a bluff precipice, on which are several detached forts, which constitute the real strength of the place. The valley of Galligan is the bed of a torrent coming down from the mountains, which flows under the old wall of the town, and at its source divides the mountain into two dominant hills: that of the Capuchins,

\* Southey.

occupied by three forts, and that of Monjuich, on which was a closed work provided with bomb-proof casemates and *revete*. The rocky nature of the ground on which these defences were placed rendered the formation of approaches a matter of great labour and difficulty, so that it was already the 13th of June before the fire opened, at one and the same time, upon Monjuich and the town. The event that was so long in coming was not unexpected by the inhabitants, who had taken every precaution in their power to prepare themselves against it. On the 17th the besieged made an unsuccessful sally, but on the 19th the French got possession of the tower of St. Louis. While Verdier carried forward the siege, St. Cyr occupied with his covering force the fertile country around Vich, but he now moved his head-quarters up to Caldas de Malavella, in order to prevent succours arriving to the besieged, and on the 21st his army assaulted the Spaniards at San Felice, and drove them out of it after an obstinate resistance. St. Cyr, however, disapproved of Verdier's manner of conducting the siege, but the subordinate officer, strong in the favour of Napoleon, would not attend to the suggestions of his superior, and in the first days of July Verdier endeavoured to attempt to carry by assault a battery of 20 guns, which the besieged had opened in one of the bastions of Monjuich, but failed with the loss of 77 officers and 2,095 men killed and wounded. From this time forward, however, the siege was conducted with greater prudence and skill, many salutary precautions were taken, and the surer operations of sap and mine were resorted to. An anecdote is related of a Spanish drummer-boy in the garrison, who was placed to watch the mines and shells of the besiegers, and as he was doing so a shot carried off part of his thigh. On attempting to convey him to hospital the gallant little fellow resisted, saying, "I have still my arms left me to beat my drum, and to warn my friends of the approach of danger."

The mining operations and fire of the besiegers now continued to commit such ravages in the town that its buildings and defences became entirely ruined and all the guns silenced; nevertheless, on the 10th of August Alvarez made a sortie with 1,500 men and retook the tower of St. John, bringing away the wounded who had been left in it when it was taken, yet on the following night the fort was again abandoned to the besiegers, and the garrison withdrawn into the town. The French were now enabled to carry their trenches up to the very walls, which were at the mercy of their fire from the heights which had come into their possession, and the place suffered horribly, not only from the artillery, but also from the ravages of a fever, which was daily becoming more extended and more malignant, and from the want of provisions. On the 14th-15th of August 800 Catalans, under Ramon Fora, got access into the town, but, though this accession of strength raised the spirits of the garrison, the relief brought by the reinforcement was insignificant. Yet no proposal of surrender was heard, and the determination of all ranks to resist the enemy remained unshaken by these calamities.

The Spanish irregulars and Blake, with such troops as he had been able to bring together again, were active in the open country to annoy and interrupt the operations of the siege. The Migneletes, under Claros and Rovisa, attacked a convoy on the side of Figueras, and 9,000 men menaced the communications on the side of Hostalrich. Blake so skilfully worked these annoyances, and so effectually distracted the attention of the besiegers, that Garcia Conde, with 1,500 mules laden with *munitions de guerre et de bouche*, and 3,000 men, were enabled to penetrate into Gerona, on the 1st of September, and O'Donnel, with a division of 1,500, got even to the heights of the Capuchins, and remained posted there till the 5th. The courage of the besieged was again elevated to an extraordinary degree by these successful adventures, and the besiegers for a time were even compelled to suspend their operations; but on the 11th the cannonade recommenced, and on the 16th three breaching batteries opened against the old walls. On the 16th these were declared practicable on the side overlooking the Galligan, and Alvarez made all the preparations which skill and courage could suggest to repel the threatened assault. On the 19th, at 2 o'clock in the forenoon, 4,000 men advanced to the attack. The drums immediately sounded, and the tocsin was rung from all the churches in the town, which brought down to the defence not only the garrison but almost the whole population. Men and women, monks and children, entered without confusion upon the duties assigned to each, and calmly awaited death in the unusual service demanded of them for the honour of their country. A terrific fire of artillery covered the approach of the assailants, and scattered death among the crowd of defenders; and notwithstanding the energy of the attack, the French could make no impression. The fury of the defence was such, that immense stones were hurled down the heights upon the heads of the soldiers, while the discharge of fire-arms was incessant. The struggle was long and severe. Three times did the besiegers attempt in vain to force an entrance, until at length, at about 5 o'clock, after a hard conflict of three hours' duration, they were glad to draw off, with the loss of 600 killed and 1,000 wounded, including 3 colonels and a number of inferior officers, all greatly dejected at this signal failure of their greatest effort.

It was now determined to convert the siege into a blockade, and the disputes between Generals St. Cyr and Verdier having arisen to an inconvenient height, General Augereau was sent to take the command. The situation of the garrison and inhabitants, however, had become one of accumulated and intolerable suffering. Famine was in all their dwellings, and dysentery was so fatal among the population that the way to the burial-place was never vacant. But the besiegers were suffering at the same time almost as much as the besieged from want of provisions. The Somatemes from the mountains round about had rendered their supply extremely uncertain and hazardous, and the vigilance of Lord Collingwood defeated all attempts to assist them by sea.

On the 21st of October, Rear-Admiral Baudin, with "Le Robarte,"

80, Captain Legras, "Le Borée," 74, Captain Laignel, and "Le Lion," 74, Captain Bonami, with the frigates "La Pauline," 40, and "La Pomone," 40, and a fleet of armed store ships and transports, broke the blockade of Toulon, and sailed for Barcelona. The British Admiral, who had now established his cruising-ground off Cape St. Sebastian, to intercept the French Admiral, upon learning of the sortie, ordered Rear-Admiral Martin in the "Canopus," 80, Captain Inglis, bearing his flag, having under him "Renown," 74, Captain Philip Dushaw, "Tigre," 74, Captain Benjamin Hallowell, "Sultan," 74, Captain Griffith, "Leviathan," 74, Captain John Harvey, and "Cumberland," 74, Hon. Captain Wodehouse, to chase the enemy. Every stitch of canvas they could crowd was set by the British ships, in the hope of bringing their opponents to action before dark, but the sailing of the French ships was so good that this could not be accomplished until the 25th, when "Le Robarte" and "Le Lion," finding themselves chased too closely, ran on shore near the harbour of Cete, and "Le Borée" and "La Pauline" only just succeeded in reaching that harbour, although it scarcely contained water enough to float them. The British ships accordingly hauled their wind and stood off, but Admiral Baudin, seeing the mizen-masts of both the stranded ships go by the board, ordered them on the 26th to be fired by their own crews, and both blew up with a tremendous explosion. Admiral Martin, having thus caused the failure of the convoy, returned to report to Lord Collingwood, who, finding that the five ships of war thus accounted for were all which had escaped from Toulon, returned to the blockade, and detached Captain Hallowell with the "Tigre," "Cumberland," and "Volontaire," with the "Apollo" and "Topaz" frigates, to attempt the capture or destruction of the seven merchant-vessels and the several store-ships, which had anchored for safety under the roads and batteries of the bay of Rossas. On the evening of the 31st of October, Hallowell arrived in sight of them, when the boats of the squadron were immediately manned, and under the command of Lieutenant Tailour, first of the "Tigre," pushed off to execute the business assigned them; and, notwithstanding the fire of the ships and batteries, and of musketry from the shore, such was the alacrity of the British tars, that before the day opened on the 1st of November, every French vessel in the bay was either burned at her moorings, or brought off by the aid of a light wind from the land. The total loss to the British in these affairs was 15 killed and 55 wounded, including among the latter Lieutenant Tailour, who was among the foremost in the fight.

Marshal Augereau had no sooner assumed the command of the besieging army before Gerona than he set himself to work to obtain fresh supplies from France, and convoys already began to arrive in the French camp; but, hearing that a great convoy was also preparing under O'Donnell, at Hostalrich, for the relief of the besieged, he resolved to inaugurate his command by driving the Spaniards out of that town; and, having now effected this, he became master of the large magazines which had been formed there for the re-

victualment of Gerona. This event was depressing to the devoted inhabitants, as it not only deprived them of all hope of further relief, but gave plenty to the French camp. Moreover, no hope of external assistance longer remained to the city ; and, to add to their distress, the brave Alvarez, whom no danger nor disaster could discourage, was at this time seized with the fever, and reduced to the last extremity. The report now made to the Governor by the chief of the medical staff—a mournful record—which still exists, tells a frightful tale of the horrors which reigned at this juncture within the devoted city. The bombardment had rendered every house uninhabitable, and torn up the streets so that the rain water and the sewerage stagnated in them. The dead bodies of the slain, and of those who had died of the pestilence, lay rotting amidst the ruins. The unnatural atmosphere affected even the gardens, for the fruits withered, and scarcely a vegetable could be raised. On the 2nd of December the guns were again opened against the unhappy city, and this time from the other side of the river. A sortie was repulsed, and the ammunition of the garrison was reduced to a very low ebb, so that the Spanish fire became weaker and weaker. Don Julien de Bolivar had succeeded to the command after Alvarez was stricken, and he now summoned a council to determine what should be done. Further resistance was unanimously pronounced hopeless, and on the 10th, propositions were made for a surrender. Augereau, happy to get possession of the place on any conditions, conceded honourable terms to the brave survivors of the defence of Gerona, who opened its gates to the conqueror, having held out for seven months with a courage and constancy that demand an immortality of praise. 4,300 soldiers, with their heroic governor, Alvarez, gave up their arms, but 15,000 had perished by the sword or disease. Alvarez was permitted by the terms of the capitulation to choose any place of residence within the French frontier, but Augereau, with brutal harshness, shut him up in a dungeon at Figueras, where he soon after died. "So long as virtue and courage shall be esteemed in the world, the name of Alvarez will, however, survive among those of heroic patriots ; and, if Augereau forgot what was due to his merits, posterity will not omit to do full justice to both."\*

#### 44. THE SPANISH ARMIES DEFEATED AT OCANA AND ALBA DE TORMES.

The Central Junta, undeterred by the successive defeats of the Spanish armies in the field, still urged their commanders to continue their imprudent tactics, and intrusted to General Areizaja, a very young man, who had gained some experience under Blake, and now succeeded Cuesta in the insane project of an advance upon Madrid. Blake himself had been recently defeated at Belchite by Suchet, and Areizaja, on the 16th of November, encountered King Joseph at Ocaña, on the great road from Seville to Aranjuez. The Spanish

\* Napier.  
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troops did, indeed, here stand firm for a time against an attack made by Laval, under cover of a terrible battery of 30 guns, and had, with loud shouts, gallantly received the onset of the enemy, their guns in position at the same time keeping up a heavy and destructive cannonade against the assailants, whose leading ranks wavered and fell back. Soult, however, who was present as Major-General, ordered up Gerard's division to the aid of Laval, and this prompt succour restored the battle, and soon gave the French a complete victory. Areizaga took to flight, and his army dispersed in all directions, leaving behind 20,000 prisoners, 45 guns, and all their ammunition. The battle of Ocaña was quickly followed by the reduction of Cordoba and Seville, and thus a way was opened to beleaguer Cadiz.

The disastrous battle which thus laid open the southern provinces of Spain was speedily followed by another scarcely less ruinous in the north. The Duque del Parque had for some time kept his ground in the neighbourhood of Salamanca, where, being joined by the Lusitanian Legion, under Sir Robert Wilson, he occasioned great annoyance to the enemy. In the middle of October, he succeeded in defeating General Marchand at the head of 10,000 foot, 1,200 cavalry, and 14 guns, and had obliged him to withdraw across the Douro, with a loss of 3,000 men. On November 17th, however, the same French division, reinforced and refreshed, advanced, under General Kellerman, against the Duke, to retrieve this disaster. The Spanish Grandee, elated by victory, determined on hazarding a battle at Alba de Tormes on the 23rd. Del Parque, indeed, obtained considerable success in this engagement; but, on the 25th, Kellerman came up against him with a large body of cavalry, before which the Spanish cavalry fled, but the infantry stood firm awhile, and enabled the Duke to retreat without any great loss, notwithstanding the repeated charges of the French horse upon their flanks, and he reached Tamames in some disorder; and such, indeed, was the depression of the troops, that the next morning they fled at the appearance of a French patrol, and separated in all directions, abandoning their whole artillery, ammunition, and carriages of every sort. Del Parque was left literally alone; nevertheless, in about a fortnight, he succeeded in rallying 12,000 or 15,000 of his men, and appeared in the mountains south of Ciudad Rodrigo at the head of an army, but destitute of guns and ammunition, and famishing from want.

By this victory the French were enabled, without further obstacle, to direct their views against Ciudad Rodrigo and to threaten Portugal, their terrible blows having now dispersed the only Spanish armies worthy of the name. Lord Wellington, therefore, wisely resolved to move his army from the banks of the Guadiana, where it had already suffered from the malaria prevalent in that district, in which he had been prevailed on by his brother, the Marquis Wellesley, to remain for the protection of Andalusia and Estramadura during this dangerous crisis in Spanish affairs. It has been charged against him as a military fault, that he stopped so long in a region that was proving fatal to both officers and men; but he remained

with reluctance, and contrary to his own judgment. He seized the first favourable moment, therefore, to shift the army to the healthier and higher ground of the province of Beira, while he himself repaired in the beginning of December to Seville, when he was desirous of coming to some explanation with the Junta. On this occasion he met Lord Wellesley and Mr. Frere, and convinced them (as he afterwards succeeded in convincing the British Government) that the real question of the war was, whether it should be proceeded with for the defence of Spain from Cadiz, or that of Portugal from Lisbon. He admitted that he should have preferred the former alternative, but for the inconvenience attached to Spanish interference. He was, however, satisfied that he could defend Portugal successfully against any advance of the French armies; and this was finally agreed upon. The aspect of affairs in the Peninsula had become so alarming at this juncture, that the Junta, overwhelmed with the public dissatisfaction, proclaimed the assembly of the Cortes.

#### 50. THE TREATY OF VIENNA.

The armistice between the French and Austrian armies was followed by a definitive treaty of peace between Napoleon and Francis, which was ratified at Vienna on the 14th of October. It was declared to be common to the King of Bavaria, to whom the Tyrol, with an amnesty to the inhabitants who had taken part in the insurrection, was conceded. If any document was necessary to prove the utter wickedness of Napoleon's ambition, it was the treaty of Vienna. Here was a man, who had made the most extraordinary exertions to put an army in the field, and, having humbled his enemy, had to prescribe the terms of submission; yet this mighty conqueror had nothing to demand but that Austria should divest herself of the few miles of seashore she possessed, and should acknowledge his new pasteboard royalties. For this, human life was sacrificed in hecatombs, and the scourge of war let loose upon the whole of Germany.

The treaty was announced to the army by cannon, and the Emperor hastened his return to Paris on the plea of sending every disposable man into Spain to bring the contest in the Peninsula to a speedy issue. On the 12th of October, he had a grand review of his army at Schönbrunn, when an incident, which might almost have been prepared by his own agents, created an excitement which certainly very much advanced the object which had for some time entered his mind:—A young man, who attempted to force his way through the troops which kept the ground, on a plea of speaking to the Emperor, was found to have concealed in his dress a very long and very sharp knife, and admitted that he intended to strike the Emperor; but he could give no reason for this act, and was a mere youth, a German student, without any religious or political fanaticism. The public sympathy was of course raised in the conqueror's behalf, and showed itself in an un-

mistakable enthusiasm at his safety. But it had an object to advance, and the feeling in his favour was ingeniously turned to the consideration of what would happen to France if Napoleon were to die without issue, or without some legitimate successor. Soon after he reached Paris, on the 14th of November, and after the fêtes which celebrated the termination of the campaign, the idea of accomplishing a divorce from the Empress Josephine, and of effecting a marriage with a daughter of one of the great Powers, which might establish the imperial dynasty of Bonaparte, began to be very generally circulated and discussed in the capital. The animal passions are rarely strong and ungovernable in men of high mental occupations, and Napoleon was not a man to sigh after a pretty face. It was —

" Ambition that filled every chink of his heart,  
Nor allowed to a nobler sensation a part."

He knew that the Kings who surrounded him, and whom, on one occasion, when they demanded audience, he had haughtily kept waiting, *qu'ils attendent*, bowed to his power but ridiculed his origin, and he had, consequently, turned in his mind how he could get rid of the Empress Josephine, who had been the earliest step in the ladder of his fortunes, and make an alliance with the old Imperial blood of Europe. He was conscious of the plenitude of his power, but felt that it yet wanted the *prestige* of the purple blood. So early as the 22nd, one week after his return, M. de Champagny was ordered by the Emperor to address a despatch to M. de Caulaincourt, at St. Petersburg, to ask the hand of the Emperor Alexander's sister; but the Czar showed no willingness whatever to concede such an honour. In the first place, however, it was necessary to bring about a divorce, and a plan was suggested and proceeded with to induce Josephine to consent to break the matrimonial bond, in furtherance of which Prince Eugène, her son, was sent for to Paris, where he arrived on the 9th of December, to endeavour to reconcile his own mother to an act which was to degrade and shame her. On the 15th of December, matters had been so advanced, that all the Imperial family assembled at the Tuilleries, and signed, with the requisite formalities, the dissolution of the civil ties, which had bound for 14 years a hitherto attached couple; but how was the Autocrat to deal with the Church? The religious obligation was declared void, *ab initio*, from defect of form. The Russian princess was only 15 years of age, and of the Greek Church, and this occasioned new difficulties; for the Pope was impracticable, and would not sanction the breach of a Church sacrament. The Emperor, therefore, in his impatience to get a wife, assembled a council of his ministers on the 26th of January, each of whom was to deliver his individual advice to Napoleon. This was done, but the decision was not conclusive either way; the council rather leaned to the Russian alliance, but the man of power, *exercising his right to be as capricious as he chose*, adopted a *decision for himself*, and sent the same evening for the Austrian

ambassador, Prince Schwartzenberg, from whom he understood that the Imperial Court of Vienna was perfectly ready to accept the alliance, with or without the sanction of the Pope. They therefore called together again his council, on the morning of the 7th, and at once signed his contract of marriage with the young Archduchess, Marie Louise. A courier was despatched with this the same day, and M. de Metternich received and laid it before the Emperor. On the 14th, he obtained his concurrence to the act, and that of his daughter. The Archduke Charles, the hero of Essling, accepted the duty of exercising the Emperor's procuration, and truckling to his adversary in a matter utterly unworthy of a man of his rectitude of principle. The ceremony was fixed for the first days of March, and on the 11th, Marshal Berthier, having arrived as Napoleon's ambassador, the marriage was solemnised at the palace of Schönbrunn, in the face of the assembled families of Lorraine and Hapsburg. On the 13th the new Empress set off for the French capital, and arrived at St. Cloud on the 30th, where she was married by the Civil Code on the 1st of April. The following day the Emperor, preceded by his Guard and surrounded by all his Marshals, made his public entry into Paris, under the triumphal arch de L'Etoile, and was married on the 2nd by Cardinal Fesch, in the great Hall, where a chapel was erected for the bestowal of the nuptial benediction. All the Kings of Europe, except one, were present at the ceremony, either in their own persons or by their representatives. Princes of inferior note were as common as hops. The sisters and sisters-in-law of Napoleon, whether crowned or uncrowned, were required to bear "la queue de l'Impératrice." But of 13 Cardinals who were summoned to Paris to assist at the marriage, and for whom seats were ostentatiously prepared, not one appeared!

The Pope had proved as firm as he might have been expected to be, and neither by act nor deed would he sanction this high rite of the Church. The Conclave shared the feelings of his Holiness, who had now safely reached Savona, and was not at all disposed to assist at a marriage which violated the principles of the Church of which he was, without any question, the spiritual head.

Notwithstanding the treaty of Vienna, the Tyrolese still persevered in their resistance to both the French and German troops, encouraged and led by Andreas Hofer, who would listen to no compromise, and continued a very formidable resistance. In vain did Napoleon pour a succession of fresh forces into the Tyrol, block up the mountain passes, and obstruct all the communications. At last, the brave, virtuous, and simple-minded people of the Tyrolese Alps were overcome; and on the 27th of January, at 4 in the morning, a party of French Grenadiers surprised Hofer in his cottage. On opening the door and seeing the soldiers, he at once surrendered, saying: "I am Andreas Hofer; I am at the mercy of the French. Let me suffer death instantly, but for Heaven's sake spare my wife and children,—they cannot be made answerable for my conduct." Hofer was, however, seized with all his family, and

carried off to Bolsenas, where he was separated from them, and conveyed to Mantua, and there, after a mock trial before a military commission, he was condemned to death on the 20th of February, and shot in the presence of many spectators.

#### 46. NAVAL WAR—FRENCH FRIGATES SUCCESSFUL IN THE INDIAN OCEAN.

The British navy in 1809-10 arrived at its maximum height. The total of sea-service cruisers had reached the unparalleled amount of 728, and the seamen and marines attained the hitherto unexampled number of 145,000. In opposition, therefore, to the colossal military territorial Empire of France, now also at its acme of power, well might Great Britain exclaim, in the words of its noble poet :

“These are our realms — no limit to their sway;  
Our flag the sceptre all who meet obey.”\*

At the commencement of the year, the British frigate “Proserpine,” 32, Captain Otter, was ordered by Vice-Admiral Thornborough to take her station off the roadstead of Toulon, and the boldness of her approaches in observation of the French fleet in that port, determined Vice-Admiral Gantheaume to detach a force to drive her away. Accordingly, on the 27th, the French frigates “La Pénélope,” 40, Captain Dubourdieu, and “La Pauline,” 40, Captain Montfort, weighed and sailed out on that service. As soon as the “Proserpine” saw them she retired, but returned as soon as chase was given up, and actually went after some of the coasting-craft in their very sight. The French Admiral therefore formed an excellent plan for her capture. The two above-named frigates, with “La Pomone,” 40, and the two fast-sailing 74's “L'Ajax,” Captain Petit, and “Le Suffren,” Captain Louvals, set sail at midnight on the 28th, and came upon the “Proserpine,” while lying becalmed near Cape Sicie. It was 4 in the morning when Captain Otter hailed “La Pénélope,” who was leading, but his demand was answered by a broadside, which was immediately returned, after which “La Pauline” came up and raked the British frigate. In less than an hour and a half, the “Proserpine” had all her running rigging destroyed, her masts badly wounded, and an enemy on each side preparing to board her, she therefore hauled down her colours and surrendered.

On the 1st of January, the British brig-sloop, “Onyx,” 10, Captain Gill, discovered on her lee bow a strange sail, which proved to be the Dutch brig-sloop “Manly,” 16, Captain-Lieutenant Honeyman, who hoisted her colours and hove to, as if prepared for battle. It was blowing hard, and a heavy sea running, when the two ships came into action, and, after fighting for 2½ hours, the “Manly” hauled down her colours, with the loss of 5 killed and 6 wounded. The British loss was only 3 wounded. On the 2nd, the British frigate “Amiable,” 32, Captain Lord George Stuart, saw

\* Byron.

a strange sail off the Texel and chased her, and, after a sail of 24 hours, came up on the 3rd, alongside the French corvette "Iris," 26, Captain Macquet, who, after a running fight of a few minutes, hauled down her colours. On the 5th, the British frigate "Loire," 38, Captain Schomberg, fell in with the French corvette "L'Hébé," 20, Lieutenant Botherel-Labretonnière, in the act of taking a ship and brig. The Frenchman immediately deserted his prizes and made sail, and the "Loire" went in chase after him. In about eight hours, the two vessels came into close action, and after a fight of 20 minutes, in which there was not a man hurt on either side, "L'Hébé" surrendered. On the 22nd, the British flag-sloop "Hazard," 18, Captain Cameron, when cruising off Guadaloupe, discovered a ship and schooner standing in for the land. The two ships immediately took different courses, but the "Hazard" followed the larger, which proved to be the French frigate "Le Topaze," 40, Captain Laballe, on her way from Cayenne, which she had found to be in the possession of the British. While the chase was in progress, the "Cleopatra," 32, Captain John Pechell, and the "Jason," 38, Captain Maude, made their appearance on the horizon, who coming up, hemmed in the "Topaze" so closely, that her only alternative was to haul close to the shore, near Pointe Noire, where she anchored under a battery. While, therefore, the "Hazard" cannonaded the battery, the "Cleopatra" and "Jason" took their chance with the frigate, who, in about three hours, hauled down her colours. On the 8th of February, off the Virgin Islands, the British brig-sloops "Asp," 16, and "Supérieure," 4, Captain Ferrie, discovered and chased a ship standing to the northward, which proved to be the French frigate "La Junon," 40, Captain Rousseau. The little "Supérieure" getting first up to the big ship, impertinently fired a shot across her bows, to bring her to, but she naturally disregarded the summons, and pursued her route. In the course of the night the "Asp" dropped completely out of sight, but the "Supérieure" and "Junon" kept on with some harmless broadsides from the latter, until, in the afternoon of the 9th, the "Latona," 38, Captain Pigott, joined in the chase. From her great superiority of sailing, the French frigate would no doubt have escaped, if two other British frigates had not now hove in sight, the "Horatio," 38, Captain George Scott, and ship-sloop "Driver," Captain Claridge. The "Horatio" and "Junon" met and exchanged broadsides, and soon both frigates running on before the wind, became closely and warmly engaged. The Captain and First-lieutenant of the "Horatio" were both wounded, so that the command devolved on the Hon. Lieutenant Douglas, but her masts and rigging were so cut and wounded, that "La Junon" was enabled, after two hours' contest, to range a-head, out of her adversary's fire. The little "Supérieure" was, however, near at hand, and gallantly buzzed about and raked the big ship, who had her three masts standing, but scarcely any rigging to support them. Many ships now came round, and by turns punished the frigate with their broadsides, so that when, after another hour's fighting, her masts had fallen over

her side, she struck her colours. She lost 130 killed and wounded, while in all the British ships taken together, there were just 40 casualties, 7 killed and 33 wounded.

On the 8th, the British frigate "Amphion," 32, Captain William Hoste, cruising in the Adriatic, received information from the brig-sloop "Redwing," 18, Captain Down, that an armed ship and a trabuccolo were lying advantageously moored across a creek, in the island of Melida, having some 400 soldiers drawn up behind some houses and works to assist in the defence. The instant, however, that the British vessels brought their broadsides to bear, the soldiers fled, leaving the ships to their fate, and such was their panic that they allowed the boats, under the orders of Lieutenant Phillot, to carry off all they desired, without offering any opposition. On the 14th, the British frigate "Belle Poule," 38, Captain James Brisbane, near the island of Corfu, found the French frigate-built store-ship, "Var," 26, Captain Paulin, steering so as to enter the Gulf of Velona, and on the 15th she had succeeded in mooring herself with cables to the walls of the fortress. The "Belle Poule" took advantage of a breeze to run in near enough to open upon her an animated and well-directed fire, and, as the forts made no effort to protect her, and the few random shots fired by the "Var" did no harm to any one, she hauled down her colours; but, before she could be taken possession of, the crew escaped to shore.

On the 5th of April, near the Cardovan lighthouse, off Bourdeaux, the British frigates "Amethyst," 36, Capt. Michael Seymour, and "Emerald," 36, Capt. Frederick Maitland, descried a ship which proved to be the French frigate "Le Niemen," 40, Capt. Dupotet. The ships forthwith made chase, but, just as it was getting dark, the "Amethyst" lost sight both of her consort and her antagonist. Surmising the probable course of the latter, Capt. Seymour followed it, and came again upon her at about 10 at night. A running fight commenced, which continued for three hours, when "Le Niemen" caught fire, and shortly afterwards the mainmasts of both ships fell, and they both ceased firing. Almost at the same moment the "Arethusa," 38, Capt. Mends, came in sight, and within signals. It was about 4 in the morning of the 6th when, under these circumstances, the last-named frigate opened her fire, and the "Niemen" gave notice of her submission by the lowering of her lights. For this action Capt. Seymour had the honour, and was created a Baronet, for Capt. Maitland had been unable to keep sight of the enemy, and got altogether off the track of the fight.

About the end of February, when Admiral Willaumez escaped from Brest harbour into Basque Roads, three French 74's, "Le Courageux," "La Polonais," and "Le D'Hautpoul," sailed from Lorient under Commodore Troude, having under their convoy two frigates armed *en flûte*, "La Furieuse" and "La Félicité," laden with troops and stores for the Antilles. On arriving in the Caribbean sea on the 29th of March, the Commodore learned that Martinique had surrendered to the British; he therefore entered

the Saintes to take the first opportunity of running into Guadaloupe. The roadstead of Saintes is not easily blockaded, and it was therefore thought advisable by Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, who commanded on the West Indian station, to land some troops upon the islands, for the purpose of driving the French ships to sea. Accordingly, on the 12th of April, a small British squadron under the orders of Capt. Beaver, of the frigate "Acasta," 40, with transports conveyed 2,000 or 3,000 men, under Major-General Maitland, who landed on the 14th without much opposition, and on the same afternoon possessed themselves with some difficulty of a mountain called "Morne Rassel," which completely overlooked the ships in the harbour. From this ascent two howitzers were brought to bear with such effect that the three line-of-battle ships got under way in the night, and quitted their anchorage. The 18-gun ship-sloops "Hazard," "Neptune," and "Pompée," quickly got sight of them and followed them, making the preconcerted signals to the ships in the offing, who soon came all of them, more or less, into action. The "Recruit," 18, Captain Charles Napier, got near enough to "Le D'Hautpoul" to discharge a broadside into her, and continued to annoy her all through the night, which induced the French 74 at length to broach to and discharge her guns, which she did with such effect upon the "Recruit" as to cut away her shrouds and rigging. Capt. Napier, in no way intimidated, continued pouring in broadsides notwithstanding his antagonist's stern-chasers; he was, however, soon left behind in the chase, and the "Latona" and "Castor" frigates came up and joined in pursuit. The "Neptune" and the "Pompée" followed the French ships all through the 16th, when they passed Port Rico, and on the 17th "Le D'Hautpoul" became such a complete wreck in her rigging and sails from these many days' worrying, that she hove to and hauled down her colours. The Admiral then despatched two frigates and a sloop of war in quest of Commander Troude, who evaded all his pursuers and got safely back to Europe. The two vessels armed *en flute*, "La Félicité" and "La Furieuse," remained till the 15th at the Isles des Saintes, when they stood over for Guadaloupe, where they arrived safe, though chased by the "Intrepid," 64, Hon. Capt. Lake. On the night of the 14th of June, these two vessels escaped from the roads of Basseterre and made for Europe by different courses. "La Furieuse" effected her escape for the time, but "La Félicité" was overtaken and captured by the "Latona," with little or no opposition, on the 18th. "La Furieuse," however, was not destined to remain long under the tricolor. On the 5th of July the British ship-sloop "Bonne Citoyenne," 20, Capt. Mounsey, descried her in the act of taking possession of an English merchant ship in the North American seas. On seeing her approach, "La Furieuse" (still on her course to Europe) abandoned her prize and sailed off under a press of canvas. During the night the "Bonne Citoyenne" lost sight of her, but came up with her again on the morning of the 6th, and commenced an action within pistol-shot.

The combat lasted nearly seven hours, during which the French frigate fired 70 broadsides, and the British ship nearly 130. Each ship had now become crippled in her masts and rigging, and Capt. Mounsey had nearly expended all his powder; he therefore gallantly took up a position close athwart the bows of his antagonist, with a determination to board, which Capt. Fahie anticipated by striking his colours. It will scarcely be believed, that with much serious damage to her spars and rigging, the "Bonne Citoyenne" only lost 1 seaman killed and 5 wounded, "La Furieuse" had 35 killed, and 37 dangerously wounded, including her commander, and she had 14 shot-holes between wind and water, and five feet water in her hold. The statement may be partly explained by the fact that the French frigate had only a portion of her main deck guns, so that her armament was not much superior to the ship-sloop, while her greater size under such circumstances was a disadvantage. This action, however, stands in its class unrivalled in the British navy — a large frigate chased and captured by a sloop of war. It was no slight difficulty for two ships so crippled to get to port in safety, and on the 8th the main and mizen masts of the prize, no longer able to withstand the motion of the sea, and having lost their stays, came down by the board, and it took 25 days for the two ships to reach Halifax roads: had it been winter, they must both have foundered.

On the 17th of May, the British brig-sloop "Goldfinch," 10, Capt. Skinner, chased the French corvette "La Mouche," 16, and brought her into action on the 18th, when, after four hours' fighting, the corvette made off, leaving the "Goldfinch" too much cut up to follow her. On the 21st "La Mouche" fell in with the armed lugger "Black Joke," Lieutenant Cannadey, and after exchanging broadsides she again stood away, and escaped into the harbour of San Andero. Here, however, she was found on the 10th of June, together with a French gun-brig and schooner, by the British frigates "Amelia," 38, Hon. Capt. Irby, and "Statira," Capt. Boys, and all three were captured. On the 25th the "Cyane," 22, Capt. Staines, and "Espoir," 18, Capt. Mitford, discovered a French frigate and corvette with gun-boats coming out of Pozzuoli Bay, off the island of Procida. The "Cyane" and her consort fired several broadsides, which the enemy returned, but, from the distance, with no great effect on either side. Some British and Sicilian gun-boats were in company and on the morning of the 26th Capt. Baines made a prompt and vigorous attack, under which 4 of the French gun-boats were taken and 4 destroyed. In the afternoon the French Commodore, observing that the "Cyane" and "Espoir" lay becalmed in the offing, weighed and put to sea with "La Ceres" frigate, and "La Fama" corvette, and made for Naples. Captain Staines therefore manned his sweeps, and, getting up with "La Ceres" within three miles of the mole, commenced an action with her. The frigate was assisted occasionally in the fight by the gun-boats and batteries of Naples, within range of which they had drifted; nevertheless, the Frenchman

found it necessary to haul down his colours, but, on receiving reinforcements from the land, he rehoisted them and the action recommenced. Captain Staines having received two dangerous wounds, from one of which he lost his left arm, and the first Lieutenant having been hit severely both in his legs and arms, the command devolved upon the master, who, dreading the ship's falling on the mole of Naples, hauled her off at a time when her antagonist had ceased firing a second time, and thus "La Ceres" escaped. The disabled state of the British vessel was such that she was obliged to be sent to England to be refitted.

On the 13th of December, as the British frigate "Junon," 38, Captain Shortland, with the brig sloop "Observateur," 16, Captain Wetherall, was in the act of boarding an American ship, four large vessels made their appearance: these were the French frigates, "La Renommée," 40, Commodore Roquebert, "La Clorinde," 40, Captain St. Crieq, with "La Loire" and "La Seine" frigates, armed *en flûte*, and commanded by Lieutenants de Vaisseau, Kerque, and Vineent, mounting 20 guns each, and laden with troops. The "Junon" and "Observateur" immediately made sail in chase, and fired several guns to induce the strangers to hoist their colours; but the Frenchmen deceived their opponents until the "Junon" came within a quarter-of-a mile distance from the "Renommée," the leading frigate, when she ran up French colours, and poured a destructive broadside into the bow of the British frigate. Soon "La Clorinde" came alongside of her consort, and in this position a spirited cannonade lasted for ten minutes, when "La Seine" and "La Loire" opened musketry upon the doomed frigate, whose quarter-deck was soon cleared of both officers and men. Captain Shortland having had his leg broken by a grape shot, Lieutenant Decker assumed the command. "La Clorinde" now attempted to board the "Junon," but Lieutenant Greer, of the Marines, gallantly repulsed the assailants, though he fell in the struggle. At length, both French frigates boarded the "Junon" simultaneously, and carried her after an action yard-arm to yard-arm, which had lasted for three-quarters-of-an-hour. In so shattered a state was the British vessel, that her captors, despairing of getting her into port, set fire to her and sunk her. The "Observateur" got away to Guadalupe, when she telegraphed the "Blonde," 38, Captain Ballard, who had in his company the "Thetis," 38, Captain Miller, and ship-sloops "Hazard," 18, Captain Cameron, and "Cygnet," 18, Captain Dix, who immediately made sail after the French frigate squadron. Captain Ballard was joined next day by the brig-sloops "Surprise," 18, Captain Starfell, and "Ringdove," 18, Captain Dowers, and on the 17th by the frigate "Castor," 32, Captain Roberts, which last had fallen in with, and had been chased by, the frigates themselves. The "Blonde" and her squadron descried at daylight two strange ships, which proved to be "La Loire" and "La Seine," which had separated from "La Renommée" and "La Clorinde." The British ships instantly put on sail, and chased them into a cove

under protection of a battery. Captain Dowers of the "Ringdove," coming up first, stormed and carried the battery, and spiked the guns. In the evening the squadron was joined by the frigate "Freiga," 36, Captain Hayes, and "Sceptre," 74, Captain Ballard, which last officer now assumed the command, and made preparations for an immediate attack on the French frigates. The "Blonde" was ordered to lead in, and to be followed by the "Thetis;" and both were to anchor abreast of the enemy, while the "Hazard," "Cygnet," "Ringdove," and "Elizabeth" were to take the armed boats of the squadron in tow, and engage. The French frigates were soon compelled to surrender, and the boats landing under a heavy fire, stormed and carried the fort. Captain Cameron was killed in this conflict, with 8 others, and 22 were wounded; but poor Captain Shortland of the "Junon," who had lost his right leg, and was otherwise wounded, was taken out of the captured frigates, and after five weeks of suffering expired. Commodore Roquebert, with "La Renommée" and "La Clorinde," eventually reached the port of Brest in safety. On the 14th of December, the British frigate "Melampus," 36, Captain Harker, cruising off Guadaloupe, captured, after a chase of 28 hours, and a slight resistance, the French corvette "Le Bearnais," 16; and on the 17th, near the island of Santa Cruz, the British brig-sloop "Rosamond," 18, captured "La Papillon," 16, Captain de la Genelieu, after a similar chase, and without the slightest resistance: both prizes were added to the British navy.

A new naval tactic appears to have come into operation about this time. The isles of France and of Bourbon still remained to the French Empire; so that making these the base of operations, and remembering the success of the former cruise of M. de Linois against British commerce in those extensive and ill-watched seas, it was determined by the French Government to construct at Cherbourg a class of 40-gun frigates, with superior sailing qualities, which should put to sea, one by one, from different ports in Europe, and taking their chance of rounding the Cape of Good Hope, proceed to their cruising-grounds in the Indian Ocean. Accordingly, on the 12th of November in the past year, "La Vénus," Commodore Hamelin, and "La Manche," Captain Breton, sailed from Cherbourg, "La Bellone," Captain Duperré, and "La Caroline," Lieutenant de Vaisseau Feretier, from Flushing, all going to sea for the first time, and all with extraordinary fortune reached the East Indian station unobserved and unhindered. On the 2nd of May, a small fleet of homeward-bound Indiamen quitted the Bengal river under the convoy of the "Victor," 18, Captain Edward Stopford, and on the 24th, in foul weather, this convoy separated, only three of the largest vessels of the fleet remaining in company, viz. the "Streatham," Captain Dale, the "Europe," Captain Gelston, and the "Lord Keith," Captain Campbell. The first two were armed with 20 guns, and the latter with 12, and their crews consisted partly of British or other European seamen, and partly of Lascars. On the 31st, this squadron saw a strange ship in the offing, which, at first,

they took for their convoy, but it soon proved to be the French frigate "La Caroline," 40, who had heard from an American trader the exact amount of force, names, lading, and probable route of this fleet. The three Indianamen bore down on the French frigate, the "Lord Keith" leading, followed by the "Europe." The latter vessel was first selected as the antagonist of the frigate, and, before she could receive any assistance, was so efficiently punished, that "La Caroline" left her to her fate, and fell upon the "Streatham," with the same result, in the space of little more than an hour; when the "Lord Keith," to avoid her otherwise inevitable fate, took advantage of a favourable moment, sailed away, and with good fortune reached England. "La Caroline" and her two richly-laden prizes then set sail, and on the 22nd of July anchored at the Isle de Bourbon; but they were all re-captured by the British fleet when that island was taken, as will be hereafter stated. On the 26th of July, the French frigates "La Vénus" and "La Manche," Commodore Hamelin, captured the Indianaman "Orient," Captain Harman, carrying despatches, and sent her away in security to the Isle of France. Having been joined by the corvette "La Créole," 14, a little French squadron was formed off the island of Sumatra on the 10th of October, where they took possession of the settlement of Tappanooly, where they destroyed or confiscated all the property, public and private, carrying off everything they could, and then setting fire to the buildings, &c. On the 18th of November the same squadron came across the "Windham," Captain Stewart, "United Kingdom," Captain Parker Desterre, and "Charlton," Captain Mortlock, all outward-bound Indianamen, armed with some 20 guns, and with crews partly European and partly Lascars. The "Windham" ran up to "La Vénus," and engaged her for two or three hours, but finding himself no match for a French frigate, Captain Stewart endeavoured to run. In the meanwhile, his consort had been captured, and accordingly, "La Vénus" was quite at liberty to pursue the "Windham," which she did, and on the 22nd, after a smart running fight, she was overtaken and captured. But, in making sail for the Isle of France, "La Vénus," with Captain Stewart on board, got separated from her consort, and was dismasted in a gale, when Captain Hamelin was obliged to apply to his prisoner to save his ship, and gave his frigate in charge to the British Captain and his crew, who, after the greatest exertions, safely weathered the storm, and carried her to the Isle of France, where she anchored on the 31st of December. "La Manche" had already arrived there with the "United Kingdom" and "Charlton," as prizes; but the "Windham" had been re-captured on the 29th by the "Magicienne," 36, Captain Lucius Curtis, and had been carried to the Cape of Good Hope, whither the French governor of the Isle of France, in reward for the good services of Captain Stewart and his crew, sent them in a cartel to rejoin their recovered ship.

The "Victor," 18, Captain Edward Stopford, of whom mention has been made as far back as May, was cruising in the Bay of  
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Bengal on the 2nd of November, when he came across the French frigate "La Bellevue," Captain Duperré, who forthwith chased her, and, after having mauled her considerably, obliged her to haul down her colours. On the 22nd the two vessels in company fell in with the Portuguese frigate "Minerva," 52, Captain Pinto, when an action ensued, and Captain Duperré had the skill and good fortune to capture her likewise, and with his two men-of-war prizes he anchored safely in Port Louis.

#### 47. BOAT ENGAGEMENTS.

On the 15th of March, the British frigate "Arethusa," 38, Captain Mends, cruising off the north coast of Spain, detached her boats under Lieutenants Pearson, first of the ship, and Octavius Scott of the Marines, into the little bay of Lequito, which was defended by a detachment of French soldiers; there they destroyed more than 20 heavy guns in battery, and brought away prisoners, a sergeant and 20 men, and a small chaloupe laden with brandy. On the 16th the same party again landed, and found two chasse-marées laden with brandy aground four miles up the river Andera, which they captured from the French and restored to the Spaniards. On the 20th a party of seamen and marines of the same ship, under Lieutenants Elms, Steele, and Fennell, destroyed the guns at Baigno and the signal-posts, the small French force stationed in charge retiring as the British approached.

On the 23rd of April, Captain Jahleel Brenton, of the "Spartan," 38, having the British frigates "Amphion," 32, Captain William Hoste, and "Mercury," 28, Hon. Captain Duncan, under him, in the Gulf of Venice, observed a number of vessels lying within the mole of Pesaro. Deeming it practicable to get possession of them, he anchored his three frigates within half a mile of the town and harbour, when he sent in the boats of the squadron under the orders of Lieutenants Willes, Philcott, and Baumgardt, together with a flag of truce to the Commandant, demanding the surrender of all the vessels. Receiving no reply to this demand, Brenton fired a shot over the town to give warning to the women and children, and then opened fire from all three frigates, which continued a short time, when several flags of truce were exhibited in the town, and Brenton ceased firing, and signalled Lieutenant Willes to pull into the harbour. Before dark, 13 vessels, deeply laden, were surrendered and brought off; several others were scuttled and sunk, and some were left aground. The Commandant and all the military had made their escape, and accordingly the castle was mined and blown up. The only casualty which occurred to the assailants was the life of one man, who, through his own negligence, was buried in the ruins. On the 2nd of May the "Spartan" and "Mercury" chased two vessels into the port of Cesenatico, which was defended by a battery and a castle. The boats were lowered in order to lead the frigates as close as the shallow water would permit, and the frigates thus got within grape-shot, when

Lieutenant Willes pushed ahead, landed his boats' crews, and took possession of the battery, turning its guns upon the castle and town, which were very soon deserted. 22 vessels, laden with corn, hemp, and iron, were brought off, and one which had been scuttled, burned. The castle and magazine were destroyed, and the guns spiked. All this was effected without a casualty. Captain Brenton then proceeded to the Gulf of Fiume, where the French, he had heard, were fortifying the island of Lusin-piccolo. Colonel Pelharnie with a corps of Croatians, being in the vicinity, a proposal was made to them to co-operate in an attack, which being agreed to, the works were assaulted, and the enemy driven off, when an advance was immediately made on the castle, which, after enduring the fire of the "Spartan" all night, surrendered in the morning, and was delivered over to the troops of the Emperor of Austria.

On the 14th of June the British brig-sloop "Scout," Captain Raitt, perceived a convoy of 14 or 15 sail of vessels coming round Cape Croisette. He immediately made sail in chase, but it falling calm he despatched the boats under Lieutenant Battersby. The vessels pushed for a harbour, into which they were followed by the boats, under a heavy fire of grape and musketry; but, notwithstanding, a party of men got to shore and immediately stormed and carried the battery, and attacked the enemy's ships, which got under the protection of some rocks. The guns were spiked, and seven vessels brought out. In the execution of this service, the British had 1 killed and 5 wounded. On the 14th of July the same officer, with a detachment of the "Scout's" seamen and marines, landed and attacked a strong battery which commanded the port of Carri, which he carried without any loss and spiked the guns. The British frigate "Topaze," 36, Captain Griffiths, observed on the 31st of May 9 vessels in the road of Demata, under the fortress of Sta Maura, and, placing the boats under the orders of Lieutenant Hammond the Captain, ordered him to take them round outside the reef, and capture or destroy the ships. Notwithstanding a very formidable opposition, Lieutenant Hammond boarded and brought out the whole 9 vessels with only the loss of 1 killed and 1 wounded. On the 24th of August the "Amphion," Captain Hoste, discovered lying in the port of Cortelazzo 6 Franco-Italian gun-boats with a convoy of merchant trabacculos. Captain Hoste having received from a fisherman a very correct account of the force and situation of the vessels and batteries, resolved to send in his boats. Crowding all sail the "Amphion" stood in shore, and anchored off the entrance of the Piavè, when the boats, under the orders of Lieutenants Phillott, Jones, and Moore of the Marines, landed a detachment of 70 men, who attacked the fort with so much vigour, that although surrounded by a ditch and chevaux-de-frise, it was carried in ten minutes, when, at the concerted signal, the boats attacked and captured the 6 gun-boats. Two trabacculos with cargoes were taken, and 5 burned. One marine accidentally wounded by an explosion was the only casualty. On the 28th of July the "Excellent," 74, Captain West, being at

anchor off Trieste, discovered an enemy's convoy creeping along under the shore, but as soon as they saw that they had been perceived, they took shelter in the port of Duin. All the boats were immediately lowered and placed under the command of Lieutenant Harper, covered by the brig-sloops "Acorn," 18, Captain Clephane, and "Bustard," Captain Barkland. These pushed through a heavy fire into the harbour, when Lieutenant Harper gallantly boarded and burned 6 gun-boats, which he brought away, together with 10 trabacculos laden with produce. The total casualties in this exploit were the master and 7 seamen and marines wounded.

The British frigate "Mercury," Hon. Captain Duncan, detached her boats upon several successful expeditions of the same kind. Lieutenant Watkin Owen Pell was sent on the 1st of April to cut out 2 gun-boats, from the port of Rovigno, moored close under some heavy batteries. In the encounter the gun-boat "Leda" was carried and brought away; but owing to a fog the other gun-boat escaped, and the lieutenant, who had already lost a leg in the service, was severely wounded in two places. On the 15th of May the same frigate sent a boat's crew, under Lieutenant Gordon, into the town of Rotti, on the Gulf of Manfredonia, who landed and destroyed 7 trabacculos, but received some slight damage himself. On the 7th of September Lieutenants Pell, Gordon, and Whylock, of the Marines, went with the boats of the "Mercury" into the harbour of Barletta, in the same gulf, and boarded and carried in very gallant style the French national schooner "La Pugliese," commanded by an Enseigne de Vaisseau. This was effected with such judgment and promptitude that it succeeded without any casualty, notwithstanding that the schooner nearly touched the mole, which was lined with musketry, and was under the fire of a castle mounting 8 guns, and of 2 armed feluccas.

Some exceedingly brave and enterprising exploits with boats occurred this year against Danish craft, in the Baltic Sea. On the 11th of May the British frigate "Melpomene," Captain Peter Parker, chased a Danish man-of-war cutter of 6 guns on shore, at Hubio, in Jutland, and sent in her boats, under Lieutenants Plumridge and Rennie, to destroy her, which they did effectually, but with the casualties of Lieutenant Rennie and 5 men severely wounded. On the 15th the frigate "Tartar," 32, Captain Baker, chased on shore, on the coast of Courland, a Danish privateer of 4 guns, and sent in her boats, under Lieutenants Sykes and Parker, who boarded the privateer without loss, and with her guns dislodged a party posted on shore for her protection. But before the Danes quitted the ship the rascally crew placed a lighted candle over the magazine, where lay several hundredweight of gunpowder. This was fortunately perceived by one of the British seamen when the slowmatch had already burned down to within an inch of the powder, so that in another minute all on board would have been blown to destruction. With wonderful presence of mind the daring man grasped the candle in his hand and prevented the catastrophe.

On the 23rd, the "Melpomene," when off Omoe island, in the Great Belt, discovered after nightfall several large boats standing towards her. She immediately cleared for action, and in about half an hour was in hot conflict with 20 sail of gun-boats. The long guns of the Danes produced a very serious effect upon the *materiel et personnel* of the "Melpomene," and the darkness of the night hid from her view the individually small but collectively formidable antagonists. The gun-boats in the end, however, got all safely back to port; but the British frigate had lost 5 killed and 29 wounded, and was left in so shattered a state as to be obliged to be sent home and put out of commission. On the 19th of June the "Bellerophon," 74, Captain Warren, was with the "Minotaur," 74, Captain Barrett, off Hango, in Swedish Finland. Captain Warren, seeing a lugger and two other vessels apparently aground in the harbour, anchored, and despatched the boats, under the orders of Lieutenants Pilch, Sheridan, Bentham, and Carrington, of the Marines, who took possession of them; but finding themselves within gun-shot of four strong batteries, not before observed, the detachments dashed at the nearest battery, which was defended by four 24-pounders and 103 men, and carried it in the most gallant manner. The guns in it were spiked and the magazine destroyed; and the British returned to their ships with only 5 wounded. On the 7th of July, a British squadron, under Captain Byam Martin, consisting of "Implacable," 74, "Bellerophon," 74, "Melpomene," 38, and the ship-sloop "Prometheus," 18, Captain Forest, was cruising off the coast of Finland, when a Russian flotilla of gun-boats and merchantmen was observed at anchor under Pereola Point. The gun-boats were 8 in number, in a position betwixt two rocks of extraordinary height and escarpment, which prevented their being taken in flank, while they were able to pour a destructive fire of grape upon any boats which should approach them in front. The boats of the above four ships, 17 in number, under the command of Lieutenant Hawkey, of the "Implacable," regardless of the heavy fire opened upon them, proceeded to the attack. The British detachment did not fire a musket until they actually touched the sides of the gunboats, when the seamen and marines sprung upon them, sword in hand, and carried them all. Six were captured, 1 burned, and 1 escaped; and 12 merchant vessels, laden with powder and provisions for the Russian army, together with a large armed ship, which were lying behind them under their protection, were all captured. The leader of the expedition, Lieutenant Hawkey, was killed in the act of assaulting, and Lieutenant Risling mortally wounded. The entire loss was 17 killed and 36 wounded. The Russian loss was 63 killed and 127 taken prisoners, of whom 51 were wounded. On the 25th of July, Captain Pater, commanding a squadron, consisting of his own ship, the "Princess Carolina," 74, "Minotaur," 74, "Prometheus," 18, and "Cerberus," 18, Captain Whitby, sent Captain Forest with all the boats, 17 in number, to attack 4 Russian gun-boats and an armed brig lying at Fredericksham. As soon as it was dark the boats pushed off, and

after a most desperate and sanguinary conflict, captured and brought off all but one gun-boat. One of them was so obstinately defended, that every man of her crew, 44 in number, was either killed or wounded before she surrendered. The killed alone on board this gun-boat amounted to 25. The British loss was 3 officers and 16 men killed, and Captain Forest himself, with 50 men, wounded. On the 12th of August, the brig-sloop "Lynx," 18, Captain Willoughby Marshall, and gun-brig "Monkey," Lieutenant Fitzgerald, discovered 3 Danish luggers off Daishead, which immediately hoisted their colours and anchored in line within a reef. Captain Marshall accordingly detached the "Monkey" and the boats to make an attack upon them, but after the second broadside from the "Monkey" all three cut their cables and ran ashore, when the boats promptly boarded them and brought them all out without a single casualty. A cask of powder was timely discovered close to the fireplace of one of the captured luggers, evidently placed there in the hope of a cowardly revenge, as in the case already mentioned. Captain Lord George Stuart, in the "Aimable," 32, landed with the Captains of the "Musquito," "Briseis," and "Ephira," and a party of marines and seamen, and dislodged the enemy from the town of Gessendorf, near the mouth of the Elbe and Weser, spiked their guns, and destroyed their works.

On the 10th of September, off the bay of Amarang, in the Dutch island of Celebes, the British gun-brig "Diana," 10, Lieutenant Kempthorne, discovered the Dutch brig-of-war, "Zephyr," 14, commanded by Captain-Lieutenant Vanderveld, lying at anchor close under a fort. Kempthorne did not think it prudent to attack the brig in that position, but resolved to attempt to cut her out at night with his boats. As soon, therefore, as it became dark the boats were sent in, but after a fruitless search of two hours they returned without being able to find the brig, which had, in fact, slipped away. On the 11th, however, the "Diana" again discovered her, and the "Zephyr" came to the wind and stood out to meet her. They came into action in about four hours, and after a fight of about 40 minutes, the Dutch brig hauled down her colours. On the 17th of October, near Guadalupe, the ship-sloop "Hazard," 18, Captain Cameron, and brig-sloop "Pelones," 18, Captain Huskisson, came upon a privateer, moored under the battery of St. Marie. Captain Cameron immediately despatched the boats under Lieutenants Robertson and Flinn, who were exposed to a heavy fire of grape from the battery as they approached the shore; but the ships soon silenced this, and the boats then pushed forward and gallantly boarded the vessel, when the crew abandoned her and formed on the beach, whence they opened such a heavy fire of musketry that Lieutenant Robertson found it impossible to get the vessel away, and therefore set fire to her and blew her up. In this service 6 seamen and marines were killed and 7 wounded. On the 12th of December, in the same seas, the frigate "Thetis," 38, Captain Miller, in company with the brig-sloop "Pultusk," Captain Elliott, "Achates," 10, Captain Pinto, "Attentive," Lieutenant

Carr, and schooner "Bacchus," Lieutenant Deyman Jermy, observed the French corvette "Le Nisus," 16, Captain de fregate La Netrel, lying at anchor under the protection of a fort and battery. Captain Miller accordingly determined to cut her out, and sent in the boats, under the orders of Captain Elliott, who carried the fort in the most gallant style, forcing the garrison of 300 men to retire out of it, when, having dismantled and destroyed the battery, he proceeded to board and carry the corvette. This conflict lasted upwards of six hours, and only cost the lives of 1 seaman and 1 marine.

#### 48. COLONIAL WAR—ANHOLT—SENEGAL—ST. PAUL, IN BOURBON.

Early in the month of May a squadron, consisting of "Standard," 84, Captain A. P. Hollis, "Owen Glendower," 36, Captain Selby, with three sloops-of-war and a gun-brig detached from the fleet of Sir James Saumarez, the British Commander-in-Chief in the Baltic Sea, was sent to effect the reduction of the Danish island of Anholt. Captains Selby and Nichols of the Marines conducted the storming party, and after a smart but ineffectual resistance, which killed 1 marine and wounded 2, the Danish garrison of 170 men surrendered at discretion. The advantage of this conquest was the possession of a lighthouse of considerable importance to British trade.

Much injury having been done by French privateers in the African seas, Captain Columbine on the station concerted with Major Maxwell, military commandant at Goree, a plan for the reduction of Senegal. Accordingly, on the 17th of July, a squadron composed of the frigate "Solebay," 32, brig-sloop "Dervert," 18, Captain Parker, and a gun-brig, "Tigris," Lieutenant Bones, and a flotilla of small armed vessels, with sloops and schooners conveying 166 officers and men of the African corps, under the Major, anchored off the bar of the French settlement. The French collected their forces, which consisted of about 160 troops and 240 militia, at Babaque, about 10 miles above the bar. Major Maxwell, uniting the troops, sailors, and marines, altogether about 210 men, landed and immediately took up a position. The French commandant marched to attack the British, but finding them stronger than he expected, he fell back with so perfect a knowledge of the country that it was found impossible to follow him. The troops were therefore re-embarked, and proceeded up the river to attack the fort, when information arrived that the French commandant desired to surrender the colony, and terms were forthwith agreed upon, and the British standard hoisted.

We have seen in the foregoing narrative what injuries were sustained by the British Commander in the Indian seas through the possession by the French of the Mascarenha Isles (so called), comprising the Isle of France or Mauritius, the Isle of Bourbon, the small island of Rodriguez, and others of inferior note. Situated in

the very highway of commerce, these islands afforded secure shelter for an active force to prowl about the adjoining seas and inlets, and fall with serious effect upon unsuspecting commerce. It is said that the insurance offices of Bengal were losers to the amount of three millions sterling from the toleration or indifference of the British Government or this policy, which left these islands so long in the possession of an enemy. This enormous loss at last roused them to exertion, and Lieutenant-Colonel Keating was despatched from the continent of India with a small force. The harbour of St. Paul, in the Isle of Bourbon, having long been the rendezvous of the cruisers, Commodore Josias Rowley was ordered by Admiral Bertie, commanding on that station, to concert with Lieut.-Colonel Keating a plan for getting possession of it, and destroying the batteries; and on the 9th of September a detachment of 368 officers and men was embarked at Fort Duncan on board a squadron consisting of the "Raisonnable," 64, "Néréide," 36, Captain Corbett, "Otter," 18, Captain Willoughby, and the Indiaman "Wasp," Lieutenant Watkins, and the two frigates "Sirius," 36, Captain Pym, and "Boadicea," 38, Captain Hatley. The expedition arrived off the east end of the island on the 20th, when Captain Corbet of the "Néréide," from his knowledge of the coast, was entrusted with the command of the conjunct force, which, with the addition of seamen and marines, numbered 604 officers and men. These were disembarked, without occasioning any alarm to the enemy, on the morning of the 21st, with the view of crossing the causeways which extend over the lake before the French could discover their approach. This important object was fully accomplished, and the batteries of Larabousière and La Centière were taken possession of, and the guns turned upon the shipping in the harbour. After a smart skirmish the battery of Lankeuf was also captured, and before an hour and a half had elapsed all the batteries, the town, guns, magazines, and public stores, with several prisoners, were in the possession of Colonel Keating and the little army he commanded. In the harbour was the French frigate, "La Caroline," and her two prize Indiamen, "Streatham" and "Europe." The British squadron now stood into the bay and opened fire upon them, when they, together with all the French ships in the road, cut their cables and drifted on shore. The seamen, however, soon heaved the ships off, and eight or nine vessels were taken possession of; all this was accomplished without any loss to either navy or army. General Desbrusleys, the governor of Bourbon, now appeared upon the hills at the head of a French force, but seeing the British in possession, retreated across the island to St. Denis. Captain S. Michel, the commandant of the town of St. Paul, therefore, having entered into terms, surrendered all the public property; and the Commodore, having accomplished the object of his expedition, sailed off with his prizes. General Desbrusleys, anticipating the judgment which would be passed upon his conduct by the French Emperor, shot himself; and his widow, at her own request, was sent in a cartel to Mauritius.

## 49. WAR IN THE EAST—PERSIA, SCINDIA, AND TRAVANCORE.

A treaty was concluded in March this year, by which Great Britain bound herself, as long as she should be at war with Russia, to pay to the Schah an annual stipend of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, on condition that Persia would assist the English in resisting every attempt of Russia or France to invade the Company's provinces in India. In this same year, likewise, the British Government first became connected by treaty with the sovereign of the frontier state of Nepaul, Runjeet Sing. A proclamation had been issued by the Governor-General, taking under the formal protection of the English all the Sikh tribes situate between the Jumna and the Sutlej, which that ambitious chief had endeavoured to add to his own dominions. To carry out this policy a British army was assembled with which Runjeet Sing showed a disposition to abide a rencounter; but a little reflection taught him the hopelessness of such a struggle, and overawed, if not satisfied, he bound himself by treaty to abstain from encroaching on the territories of the chief in his vicinity.

Travancore is the most south-westerly state of Hindostan adjoining Cape Comorin. In former years the Rajah had rendered good service to the Company, but, after a fashion not uncommon with Oriental sovereigns, his indolence had induced him to resign his government to the guidance of a favourite minister, who had attained to supreme power. The Dewan, as he was styled, having the whole influence of the state in his hands, opened communications with rulers known to be in opposition to the British power, and entered into extensive military preparations in the states pertaining to the Rajah, to support his policy. Colonel Macaulay, the resident, having remonstrated against these hostile proceedings, was near being treacherously seized by the Dewan, but was saved by the opportune arrival of 33 private soldiers of the 12th regiment, who, however, were themselves suddenly surrounded and overpowered. Colonel Chalmers, in command of the subsidiary force, immediately led his contingent against the Travancore troops, whom he obliged to retire.

On the news of these transactions reaching Madras, the government of Fort St. George sent off Colonel Hon. Arthur St. Leger of the Madras cavalry, together with a division of infantry under the command of Colonel Wilkinson and Lieut.-Colonel Cuppage, who, on the 18th of January, found themselves in presence of the Dewan's troops, whom, after an action which lasted five hours, they compelled to fly, and leave their guns behind them. Colonel St. Leger pursued, and on the 3rd of February came up to the lines of Arumbowly, which were of great natural and artificial strength. These he determined to take by storm, which service was executed effectually on the 9th by Major Welsh, who carried them in spite of greater resistance than had been anticipated. He continued to follow up his success, and on the 20th again routed the enemy with

the loss of about 5,000 men and 7 guns at Killianere. Colonels Chalmers and Cuppage then advanced from different sides upon the Rajah's capital, and the Dewan being abandoned by his master fled away to the mountains. After a good deal of wandering and privation he came to the resolution of putting an end to his life, and repaired for this purpose to a pagoda named Bhagvady, where he stabbed himself. His brother, who had participated with him in the surprise and massacre of the soldiers of the 12th regiment, was apprehended, tried, and most justly executed in sight of that regiment.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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